1517

THE

GRECIAN HISTORY,

FROM

THE EARLIEST STATE

TO THE

DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

By DR. GOLDSMITH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE,

FROM THAT PERIOD TO THE SACKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE OTHOMANS.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. I.

T.M.S.S.M. TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

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MDCCLXXXV.

ADVERTISEMENT.

FROM the times of Alexander, to the facking of Conftantinople by the Turks, a period of fifteen centuries, the Grecian ftates, being under the influence of foreign councils, and the controul of foreign arms, had loft their exiftence as a nation. But neither did they fubmit to flavery without a ftruggle, nor did the power which fubverted their government deface, at once, their national character, or deftroy, but by degrees, the various effects which flowed from their original genius and political inftitutions.

In what is fubjoined, in this edition, to the narrative of Dr. GOLDSMITH, it is the aim of the author to trace, amidft the revolutions of nations, the remains

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of Greece; to take a ſummary view of her efforts for the recovery of expiring liberty; to trace thoſe features that remained the longeſt unſullied by the infection of barbariſm, and thoſe efforts of genius, which, ſurviving the diſſolution of the ſtate, continued, and ſtill continue to enlighten and refine the world.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAP. I.

OF THE EARLIEST STATE OF GREECE.

THE first notices we have of every country are fabulous and uncertain. Among an unenlightened people every imposture is likely to take place, for ignorance is the parent of credulity. Nothing therefore which the Greeks have transmitted to us concerning their earliest state can be relied on. Poets were the first who began to record the actions of their countrymen, and it is a part of their art to strike the imagination even at the expence of probability. For

this reason, in the earliest accounts of Greece we are presented with the machinations of gods and demigods, the adventures of heroes and giants, the ravages of monsters and dragons, and all the potency of charms and enchantments. Man seems scarcely to have any share in the picture, and while the reader wanders through the most delightful scenes the imagination can offer, he is scarce once presented with the actions of such a being as himself.

It would be vain, therefore, and beside the present purpose, to give an historical air to accounts which were never meant to be transmitted as true. Some writers indeed have laboriously undertaken to separate the truth from the fable, and to give us an unbroken narrative from the first dawning of tradition to the display of undoubted history; they have levelled down all mythology to their own apprehensions; every fable is made to look with an air of probability; instead of a golden fleece, Jason goes in pursuit of a great treasure; instead of destroying a chimera, Bellerophon reclaims a mountain; instead of an hydra, Hercules overcomes a robber.

Thus the fanciful pictures of a strong imagination are taught to assume a serious severity, and tend to deceive the reader still more, by offering in the garb of truth what had been only meant to delight and allure him.

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The fabulous age, therefore, of Greece, must have no place in history; it is now too late to separate those parts which may have a real foundation in nature, from those which owe their existence wholly to the imagination. There are no traces left to guide us in that intricate pursuit; the dews of the morning are past, and it is vain to attempt continuing the chace in meridian splendor. It will be sufficient therefore for us to observe, that Greece, like most other countries of whose origin we have any notice, was at first divided into a number of petty states, each commanded by its own sovereign. Ancient Greece, which is now the south part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the east by the Ægean sea, now called the Archipelago; on the south by the Cretan or Candian sea; on the west by the Ionian sea; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace. Of such very narrow extent, and so very contemptible, with regard to territory, was that country, which gave birth to all the arts of war and peace, which produced the greatest generals, philosophers, poets, painters, architects and statuaries that the world ever boasted; which overcame the most powerful monarchs, and dispersed the most numerous armies that ever were brought into the field, and at last became the instructor of all mankind.

It is said in scripture that Javan, the son of Japheth, was the father of all those nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks. Of his four sons, Elisha, or Ellas is said to have given name to the Ελληνες, a general name by which the Greeks were known. Tharsis, the second son, is thought to have settled in Achaia; Chittim settled in Macedonia; and Dodanim, the fourth son, in Thessaly and Epirus. How they portioned out the country, what revolutions they experienced, or what wars they maintained are utterly unknown: and indeed, the history of petty barbarous states, if known, would hardly recompense the trouble of enquiry. In those early times, kingdoms were but inconsiderable: a single city with a few leagues of land, was often honoured with that magnificent appellation; it would therefore embarrass history to enter into the domestic privacy of every little state, as it would be rather a subject for the œconomist than the politician. It will suffice to observe, that Sicyon is said to be the most ancient kingdom of Greece. The beginning of this petty sovereignty is placed by historians in the year of the world one thousand nine hundred and fifteen, before Jesus Christ two thousand eighty-nine, and before the first Olympiad one thousand three hundred and thirteen. The first king was Ægialeus. Its duration is said to have been a thousand years.

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The kingdom of Argos, in Peloponnesus, began a thousand and eighty years before the first Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The first king was Inachus. A. M. 2148.

The kingdom of Mycænæ succeeded. The seat of government was translated thither from Argos by Perseus, the grandson of Acrisius, the last king of that country, whom Perseus unfortunately slew. The kings who reigned at Mycænæ after Perseus, were Electryon, Sthenelus, and Eurystheus; the latter of whom was driven out by the Heraclidæ, or the descendants of Hercules, who made themselves masters of Peloponnesus.

The kingdom of Athens was first formed into a regular government by Cecrops, an Egyptian. This prince, having departed from Egypt, and travelled several years in other places, came from Phœnicia into Greece, and lived in Attica, where he was kindly received by Actæus, the king of that country; married his daughter; and, on his death, succeeded to his throne. He taught the people, who were savages, the use of fixed habitations, restrained all licentious lust, obliged each man to marry one wife, and laid down rules for the conduct of life, and the exercise of all religious and civil offices. He divided the whole country into twelve districts, and also established a court for judging causes, entitled the A. M. 2448.

Areopagus. Amphictyon, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy among the twelve ſtates of Greece, which aſſembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, there to offer up common ſacrifices, and to conſult for the common intereſt of the aſſociation. Theſeus, one of the ſucceeding kings of this ſtate, united the twelve boroughs of Cecrops into one city. Codrus was the laſt of this line, who devoted himſelf to death for his people. The Heraclidæ having made an irruption as far as the gates of Athens, the oracle declared, that they ſhould be conquerors whoſe king ſhould fall in this conteſt. To take the earlieſt advantage, therefore, of this anſwer, Codrus diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a peaſant, and provoking one of the enemies ſoldiers, was killed by him. Whereupon, the Athenians ſent an herald to demand the body of their king, which meſſage ſtruck ſuch a damp into the enemy, that they departed without ſtriking another blow. After Codrus, the title of king was extinguiſhed among the Athenians. Medon, his ſon, was ſet at the head of the commonwealth, with the title of Archon, which ſignifies chief governor. The firſt of this denomination had their places for life, but the Athenians growing weary of a government which repreſt their love of freedom, they abridged the term of the archon's power

to

to ten years, and at laſt made the office elective every year.

A. M. 2549.

The kingdom of Thebes was firſt founded by Cadmus. This hero, having had an Egyptian father, was brought up in the religion, and was well acquainted with the hiſtory of that country, whence ſeveral writers of his life have accounted him an Egyptian: and, at the ſame time being born and educated in Phœnicia, he became maſter of the language and letters of that country. He failed from the coaſt of Phœnicia, and arriving in Bœotia, he founded, or rebuilt the city, calling it Thebes, from the city of that name in Egypt, and the citadel, from his own name, Cadmea. Here he fixed the ſeat of his power and dominion. To this prince are aſcribed ſixteen letters of the Greek alphabet. But, as the order, names, and characters of theſe letters bear a near reſemblance to the old Phœnician or Hebrew letters, we are not to ſuppoſe that he invented, but only that he formed them from his own language, as it is probable the Phœnicians had before formed theirs from the Egyptian. The adventures of his unhappy poſterity, Laius, Jocaſta, Œdipus, Eteocles, and Polynices, make a ſhining figure among the poetical fictions of that period.

The kingdom of Sparta, or Lacedæmon, is ſuppoſed to have been firſt inſtituted by Lelexa. Helena, the tenth in ſucceſſion from this monarch, is equally famous for her beauty and infidelity. She had not lived above three years with her huſband, Menelaus, before ſhe was carried off by Paris, the ſon of Priam king of Troy. This ſeems to be the firſt occaſion in which the Greeks united in one common cauſe. The Greeks took Troy after a ten years ſiege, much about the time that Jephthah was the judge in Iſrael.

A. M. 2820. Corinth began later than the other cities above-mentioned to be formed into a ſtate, or to be governed by its kings. It was at firſt ſubject to Argos and Mycænæ, but Siſyphus, the ſon of Æolus, made himſelf maſter of it; and when his deA. M. 2628. ſcendants were diſpoſſeſſed, Bacchis aſſumed the reins of power. The government after this became ariſtocratical, a chief magiſtrate being annually choſen by the name of Prytanis. At laſt Cypſelus having gained the people, uſurped the ſupreme authority, which he tranſmitted to his ſon Periander, who was ranked among the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, from the love he bore to learning, and his encouragement of its profeſſors.

The kingdom of Macedonia was firſt governed by Caranus, deſcended from Hercules, and ſubſiſted

fifted from his time till the defeat of Perfeus by the Romans, a fpace of fix hundred and twenty-fix years.

Such is the picture Greece offers in its earlieft infancy. A combination of little ftates, each governed by its refpective fovereign, yet all uniting for their mutual fafety and general advantage. Still, however, their inteftine contentions were carried on with great animofity; and, as it happens in all petty ftates under the dominion of a fingle commander, the jealoufies of the princes were a continual caufe of difcord. From this diftrefsful fituation, thofe ftates, by degrees, began to emerge: a different fpirit began to feize the people, and, fick of the contentions of their princes, they defired to be free. A fpirit of liberty prevailed all over Greece, and a general change of government was effected in every part of the country except in Macedonia. Thus monarchy gave way to a republican government, which, however, was diverfified into as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people.

All thefe cities, though feemingly different from each other in their laws and interefts, were united with each other by one common language, one religion, and a national pride, that taught them to

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consider all other nations as barbarous and feeble. Even Egypt itself, from whence they had derived many of their arts and institutions, was considered in a very subordinate light, and rather as an half barbarous predecessor, than an enlightened rival.

To make this union among the states of Greece still stronger, there were games instituted in different parts of the country, with rewards for excellence in every pursuit. These sports were instituted for very serious and useful purposes; they afforded an opportunity for the several states meeting together; they gave them a greater zeal for their common religion; they exercised the youth for the purposes of war, and increased that vigour and activity which was then of the utmost importance in deciding the fate of a battle.

But their chief bond of union arose from the council of the Amphictyons, which was instituted by Amphictyon, king of Athens, as has been already mentioned, and was appointed to be held twice a year at Thermopylæ, to deliberate for the general good of those states of whose deputies it was composed. The states who sent deputies to this council, were twelve, namely, the Thessalians, the Thebans, the Dorians, the Ionians, the Perhaabeans, the Magnates, the Locrians, the Oetans, the

the Pthiotes, the Maleans, the Phocians, and the Dolopians. Each of thoſe cities which had a right to aſſiſt at the Amphictyonic council, was obliged to ſend two deputies to every meeting. The one was entitled the Hieromnemon, who took care of the intereſts of religion; the other was called the Pylagoras, and had in charge the civil intereſts of his community. Each of theſe deputies, however differing in their functions, enjoyed an equal power of determining all affairs relative to the general intereſts of Greece. But, although the number of deputies ſeems to have been ſettled originally ſo as to anſwer the number of votes which each city was allowed, yet in proceſs of time, on ſome extraordinary occaſions, the principal cities aſſumed a power of ſending more than one Pylagoras to aſſiſt in a critical emergency, or to ſerve the purpoſes of a faction. When the deputies, thus appointed, appeared to execute their commiſſion, after offering up ſacrifices to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva, they took an oath, implying, that they would never ſubvert any city of the Amphictyons, never ſtop the courſe of waters either in war or peace, and that they would oppoſe any attempts to leſſen the reverence and authority of the gods, to whom they had paid their adoration. Thus, all offences againſt religion, all inſtances of impiety and profanation, all conteſts between the

Grecian ſtates and cities came under the particular cognizance of the Amphictyons, who had a right to determine, to impoſe fines, and even to levy forces, and to make war againſt thoſe who offered to rebel againſt their ſovereign authority.

These different motives to confederacy united the Greeks for a time into a body of great power, and greater emulation. By this aſſociation, a country not half ſo large as England, was able to diſpute the empire of the earth with the moſt powerful monarchs of the world. By this aſſociation, they not only made head againſt the numerous armies of Perſia, but diſperſed, routed and deſtroyed them, reducing their pride ſo low, as to make them ſubmit to conditions of peace as ſhameful to the conquered as glorious to the conquerors. But among all the cities of Greece, there were two that by their merit, their valour, and their wiſdom, particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt: theſe were Athens and Lacedæmon. As theſe cities ſerved as an example of bravery or learning to the reſt, and as the chief burthen of every foreign war devolved upon them, it will be proper to enter upon their particular hiſtory with greater minuteneſs, and to give the reader ſome idea of the genius, character, manners, and government of their reſpective inhabitants.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Government of Sparta, and the Laws of Lycurgus.

ALTHOUGH the kingdom of Lacedæmon was not ſo conſiderable as that of Athens, yet as it was of much earlier inſtitution, it demands our firſt attention. Lacedæmon, as obſerved above, was in the beginning governed by kings, of which thirteen held the reins of power in ſucceſſion, of the race of the Pelopidæ. As during this dark interval there were no fixed laws to limit the prerogative, nor any ideas of true government among the people, it does not appear that there were any conſiderable encroachments made either on the ſide of the king or that of the people. Under the race of the Heraclidæ, who ſucceeded, inſtead of one king, the people admitted two, who governed with equal authority. The cauſe of this change ſeems to have ſprung from a very particular accident; for Ariſtodemus dying, left two ſons, Euryſthenes and Procles, twins, ſo much alike, that it was hardly poſſible to diſtinguiſh them aſunder. From hence the hint was taken

taken by the mother of fixing the crown upon both; so that when the Spartans came for a king, she was either unwilling or unable to decide which of them was first born, or which had the justest pretensions. This form continued for several succeeding centuries, and though the one was almost ever at variance with his associate on the throne, yet the government remained entire.

It was during this succession that slavery was first instituted in Sparta. Eurysthenes and Procles having granted the countrymen of Sparta the same privileges with the citizens, Agis reversed what his predecessors had done in favour of the peasants, and imposed a tribute upon them. The Helotes were the only people that would not acquiesce in this impost, but rose in rebellion to vindicate their rights: the citizens however prevailed, the Helotes were subdued and made prisoners of war. As a still greater punishment, they and posterity were condemned to perpetual slavery; and, to increase their miseries still more, all other slaves were called by the general name of Helotes.

It would appear from hence, that this little state was governed with turbulence and oppression, and required the curb of severe laws and rigorous discipline. These severities and rigorous discipline were at last imposed upon it by Lycurgus, one of

the first and most extraordinary legislators that ever appeared among mankind. There is perhaps nothing more remarkable in profane history, yet nothing so well attested, as what relates to the laws and government of Lycurgus. What indeed can be more amazing, than to behold a mutinous and savage race of mankind yielding submission to laws that controuled every sensual pleasure and every private affection; to behold them give up, for the good of the state, all the comforts and conveniencies of private life, and making a state of domestic privacy more severe and terrible than the most painful campaigns and the most warlike duties. Yet all this was effected by the perseverance and authority of a single legislator, who gave the first lessons of hard resignation in his own generous example.

Lycurgus was the son of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. His elder brother Polydectes dying without issue, the right of succession rested in Lycurgus, who accordingly took the administration upon him. But an unexpected event came to interrupt his promotion; for the queen his sister-in-law proving with child, his right became doubtful. A man of less probity would have used every precaution to secure himself upon the throne, and a proposal which was made by the queen seemed to secure

his pretensions. She offered to destroy the birth, upon condition that he would marry her, and take her into a share of power. Lycurgus wisely smothered his resentment at so unnatural a proposal, and fearful that she might use means to put her project in execution, assured her, that as soon as the child was born, he would take upon himself to remove it out of the way. Accordingly she was delivered of a boy, which Lycurgus commanded to be brought to him, as he was at supper with the magistrates; to them he presented the child as their king, and to testify his own and the people's joy, gave him the name of Charilaus. Thus Lycurgus sacrificed his ambition to his duty; and still more, continued his regency, not as king but governor. However, dreading the resentment of the queen, and finding the state in great disorder, he resolved by travelling to avoid the dangers of the one, and to procure a remedy for the defects of the other.

Thus resolving to make himself acquainted with all the improvements of other nations, and to consult the most experienced persons he could meet with in the art of government, he began with the island of Crete, whose hard and severe laws were very much admired. In this island the handicraft trades were brought to some degree of perfection. There they wrought in copper and iron, and made

armour, in which they danced with a confuſed noiſe of bells at the ſacrifices of their gods. It was from that the art of navigation was firſt known in Greece, and from them many legiſlators derived the principles of their reſpective inſtitutions.

From Crete Lycurgus paſſed over into Aſia, where he ſtill found new information, and is ſaid to have firſt made the diſcovery of the works of Homer. From thence he went into Egypt, and is ſaid by ſome to have had conferences with the gymnoſophiſts of India. But whilſt thus employed abroad, his preſence began to be greatly wanted at home. All parties conſpired to wiſh his coming, and many meſſages were ſent to haſten his return. The kings themſelves importuned him to that effect, and let him know, that the people were arrived at ſuch a pitch of diſorder, that nothing but his authority could controul their licentiouſneſs. In fact, every thing tended to the unavoidable deſtruction of the ſtate, and nothing but his preſence was wiſhed to check its increaſing diſſolution.

Lycurgus, at length perſuaded to return, found the people wearied out with their own importunities, and ready to receive any new impreſſions he might attempt. Wherefore the corruption being general, he found it neceſſary to change the whole form of the government; ſenſible that a few par-

ticular laws would produce no great effect. But confidering the efficacy of religion in promoting every new inftitution, he went firft to confult the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, where he met a reception that might flatter his higheft ambition, for he was faluted by the prieftefs as a friend of the gods, and rather as a god than man. As to his new inftitution alfo, he was told that the gods heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to eftablifh would be the moft excellent and durable upon earth.

Thus encouraged, on his return to Sparta, Lycurgus firft communicated his defigns to his particular friends, and then by degrees gained over the leading men to his party, until, things being ripe for a change, he ordered thirty of the principal men to appear armed in the market-place. Charilaus, who was at that time king, feemed at firft willing to oppofe this revolution, but being intimidated by a fuperior force, he took fhelter in the temple of Minerva; where, being prevailed upon by his fubjects, and being alfo of a flexible temper, he came forth and joined the confederacy. The people foon acquiefced under a fet of inftitutions which were evidently calculated for their improvement, and gladly acknowledged fubmiffion to laws which leaned with equal weight upon every rank of fociety.

To continue the KINGS ſtill with a ſhadow of power, he confirmed them in their right of ſucceſſion as before, but diminiſhed their authority by inſtituting a ſenate, which was to ſerve as a counterpoiſe between the prerogative and the people. They ſtill, however, had all their former marks of outward dignity and reſpect. They had the chief ſeats in every public aſſembly; in voting they were allowed to give their opinion firſt; they received ambaſſadors and ſtrangers, and overlooked public buildings and highways. In the field they were poſſeſſed of greater power, they conducted the armies of the ſtate, and were attended by judges, field-deputies, and a general of the horſe. However, they were not entirely at liberty even in war, as they received their orders from the ſenate; and though theſe were for the moſt part diſcretionary, yet they were ſometimes forced to march againſt the enemy, or to return home when they leaſt deſired to retreat.

The government hitherto had been unſteady, tending at one time towards deſpotiſm, at another to democracy; but the SENATE inſtituted by Lycurgus ſerved as a check upon both, and kept the ſtate balanced in tranquillity. This body, which was compoſed of twenty-eight members, founded their chief policy in ſiding with the kings when the people were graſping at too much power; and,

on the other hand, in eſpouſing the intereſts of the people whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far. The ſenators were compoſed of thoſe who aſſiſted Lycurgus in his deſigns, as well as of ſeveral of the citizens remarkable for their private virtues, but none were eligible till ſixty years of age. They were continued for life, except upon any notorious crime; and this, as it prevented the inconveniencies of too frequent a change, ſo it was a laſting reward to the old, and a noble incentive to the young. Theſe formed the ſupreme court of judicature; and though there lay an appeal from them to the people, yet as they were only convened at the pleaſure of the ſenate, and as the ſenators were not reſponſible for any wrong judgment, their decrees generally paſſed without a repeal. Indeed, for ſeveral ages, ſuch was the caution, and ſuch the integrity of this tribunal, that none ſeemed deſirous of ſeeking farther juſtice, and both parties acquieſced in the juſtice of their decree. However, the great power which the ſenate was thus poſſeſſed of, was about a century after tempered by the erection of a ſuperior court, called the court of the EPHORI, which conſiſted of but five in number, and the members were choſen annually into their office. They were elected from the people, and a power of arreſting and impriſoning even the perſons of

their kings, if they acted unbecoming their ſtation.

The PEOPLE alſo had a nominal ſhare in the government. They had their aſſemblies conſiſting of citizens only, and alſo their great convention of all perſons who were free of the ſtate. But this power of convening was but a mere matter of form, as the ſenate alone was permitted to call them together, and as it was in the option of that body to diſmiſs them at pleaſure. The ſubject of deliberation was alſo to be of their propoſal, while the people, denied the privilege of debating or diſcuſſing, could only reject or ratify with laconic deciſion. To keep them ſtill more helpleſs, they were left out of all offices of the ſtate, and were conſidered merely as machines, which their wiſer fellow-citizens were to conduct and employ.

So ſmall a degree of power granted to the people, might be apt to deſtroy theſe inſtitutions in their infancy: but to reconcile them to the change, Lycurgus boldly reſolved to give them a ſhare in thoſe lands from whence, by the increaſing riches of ſome, and the diſſipation of others, they had been deprived. To keep the people in plenty and dependence, ſeems to have been one of the moſt refined ſtrokes in this philoſopher's legiſlation. The generality of the people were at that time ſo poor, that they were deſtitute of every

kind of possession, whilst a small number of individuals were possessed of all the lands and the wealth of the country. In order, therefore, to banish the insolence, the fraud, and the luxury of the one, as well as the misery, the repining, and the factious despair of the others, he persuaded the majority, and forced the rest to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them, that they might all live together in perfect equality. Thus all the sensual goods of life were distributed among the governors and the governed, and superior merit alone conferred superior distinction.

Lycurgus accordingly divided all the lands of Laconia into thirty thousand parts, and those of Sparta into nine thousand, and these he portioned out to the respective inhabitants of each district. Each portion was sufficient to maintain a family in that frugal manner he proposed; and, though the kings had a larger share assigned them to support their dignity, yet their tables had rather an air of decency and competency, than of superfluity or profusion. It is said that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, observing how equally the corn was divided in all parts of the country, he was heard to observe smiling on those next him, *Does not Laconia look like an estate*

which

which several brothers have been dividing amongst them?

But it would have anſwered no permanent purpoſe to divide the lands, if the money had been ſtill ſuffered to accumulate. To prevent, therefore, all other diſtinction but that of merit, he reſolved to level down all fortune to one ſtandard. He did not, indeed, ſtrip thoſe poſſeſſed of gold or ſilver of their property; but, what was equivalent, he cried down its value, and ſuffered nothing but iron money to paſs in exchange for every commodity. This coin alſo he made ſo heavy, and fixed at ſo low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were required to carry home a ſum of ten minas, or about twenty pounds Engliſh, and a whole houſe was neceſſary to keep it in. This iron money had no currency among any other of the Grecian ſtates, who, ſo far from eſteeming it, treated it with the utmoſt contempt and ridicule. From the neglect of foreigners, the Spartans themſelves began to deſpiſe it ſo, that money was at laſt brought into diſuſe, and few troubled themſelves with more than was ſufficient to ſupply their neceſſities. Thus not only riches, but their attendant train of avarice, fraud, rapine, and luxury, were baniſhed from this ſimple ſtate; and the people found in ignorance of riches, a happy ſub-

ftitute for the want of thofe refinements they beftow.

But thefe inftitutions were not thought fufficient to prevent that tendency which mankind have to private excefs. A third regulation was therefore made, commanding that all meals fhould be in public. He ordained that all the men fhould eat in one common hall without diftinction; and left ftrangers fhould attempt to corrupt his citizens by their example, a law was exprefsly made againft their continuance in the city. By thefe means frugality was not only made neceffary, but the ufe of riches was at once abolifhed. Every man fent monthly his provifions to the common ftock, with a little money for other contingent expences. Thefe confifted of one bufhel of flour, eight meafures of wine, five pounds of cheefe, and two pounds and an half of figs. The tables confifted of fifteen perfons each, where none could be admitted but by the confent of the whole company. Every one without exception of perfons was obliged to be at the common meal; and a long time after, when Agis returned from a fuccefsful expedition, he was punifhed and reprimanded for having eaten with his queen in private. The very children ate at thefe meals, and were carried thither as to a fchool of temperance and wifdom. At thefe homely repafts no rude or immoral converfation

was permitted, no loquacious diſputes or oſtentatious talking. Each endeavoured to expreſs his ſentiments with the utmoſt perſpicuity and conciſeneſs; wit was admitted to ſeaſon the banquet, and ſecrecy to give it ſecurity. As ſoon as a young man came into the room, the oldeſt man in the company uſed to ſay to him, pointing to the door, *Nothing ſpoken here muſt go that way.* Black broth was their favourite diſh, of what ingredients it was made is not known, but they uſed no fleſh in their entertainments; it probably reſembled thoſe lenten ſoups which are ſtill in uſe on the continent. Dionyſius, the tyrant, found their fare very unpalatable; but, as the cook aſſerted, the broth was nothing without the ſeaſoning of fatigue and hunger.

An injunction ſo rigorous, which thus cut off all the delicacies and refinements of luxury, was by no means pleaſing to the rich, who took every occaſion to inſult the lawgiver upon his new regulations. The tumults it excited were frequent; and in one of theſe, a young fellow whoſe name was Alexander, ſtruck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. But he had the majority of the people on his ſide, who, provoked at the outrage, delivered the young man into his hands to treat him with all proper ſeverity. Lycurgus, inſtead of teſtifying any brutal reſentment, won over his aggreſſor by all the

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arts of affability and tenderneſs, till at laſt, from being of the proudeſt and moſt turbulent men of Sparta, he became an example of wiſdom and moderation, and an uſeful aſſiſtant to Lycurgus in promoting his new inſtitutions.

Thus, undaunted by oppoſition, and ſteady in his deſigns, he went on to make a reformation in the manners of his countrymen. As the education of youth was one of the moſt important objects of a legiſlator's care, he took care to inſtil ſuch early principles, that children ſhould in a manner be born with a ſenſe of order and diſcipline. His grand principle was, that children were properly the poſſeſſion of the ſtate, and belonged to the community more than to their parents. To this end he began from the very time of their conception, making it the mother's duty to uſe ſuch diet and exerciſe, as might fit her to produce a vigorous and healthy offspring. As during this period, all inſtitutions were tinctured with the ſavageneſs of the times, it is not wonderful that Lycurgus ordained that all ſuch children as, upon a public view, were deemed deformed or weakly, and unfitted for a future life of vigour and fatigue, ſhould be expoſed to periſh in a cavern near mount Taygetus. This was conſidered as a public puniſhment upon the mother, and it

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was thought the readieſt way to lighten the ſtate of a future encumbrance.

Thoſe infants that were born without any capital defects were adopted as children of the ſtate, and delivered to their parents to be nurſed with ſeverity and hardſhip. From their tendereſt age they were accuſtomed to make no choice in their eating, not to be afraid in the dark, or when left alone, not to be peeviſh or fretful, to walk barefoot, to lie hard at nights, to wear the ſame clothes winter and ſummer, and to fear nothing from their equals. At the age of ſeven years they were taken from their parents, and delivered over to the claſſes for a public education. Their diſcipline there was little elſe than an apprenticeſhip to hardſhip, ſelf-denial, and obedience. In theſe claſſes, one of the boys more advanced and experienced than the reſt, preſided as captain to govern and chaſtiſe the refractory. Their very ſports and exerciſes were regulated according to the exacteſt diſcipline, and made up of labour and fatigue. They went barefoot, with their heads ſhaved, and fought with one another naked. While they were at table it was uſual for the maſters to inſtruct the boys, by aſking them queſtions concerning the nature of moral actions, or the different merits of the moſt noted men of the time. The boys were obliged to give a quick and ready anſwer, which

which was to be accompanied with his reafons in the conciseft manner, for a Spartan's language was as fparing as his money was ponderous and bulky. All oftentatious learning was banifhed from this fimple commonwealth; their only ftudy was to obey, their only pride was to fuffer hardfhip. Every art was practifed to harden them againft adventitious danger. There was yearly a cuftom of whipping them at the altar of Diana, and the boy that bore this punifhment with the greateft fortitude came off victorious. This was inflicted publicly before the eyes of their parents, and in the prefence of the whole city; and many were known to expire under the feverity of the difcipline without uttering a fingle groan. Even their own fathers, when they faw them covered with blood and wounds, and ready to expire, exhorted them to perfevere to the end with conftancy and refolution. Plutarch, who fays that he has feen feveral children expire under this cruel treatment, tells us of one who having ftolen a fox, and hid it under his coat, chofe rather to let it tear out his very bowels than difcover the theft.

Every inftitution feemed calculated to harden the body, and fharpen the mind for war. In order to prepare them for ftratagems and fudden incurfions, the boys were permitted to fteal from each other; but if they were caught in the fact,

they

they were punifhed for their want of detexerity. Such a permiffion, therefore, was little better than a prohibition of theft, fince the punifhment followed, as at prefent, in cafe of detection. In fact, by this inftitution, negligence in the poffeffor was made juftly liable to the lofs of his poffeffions, a confideration which has not been fufficiently attended to by fubfequent legiflators.

At twelve years old the boys were removed into another clafs of a more advanced kind. There, in order to crufh the feeds of vice, which at that time begin to appear, their labour and difcipline were increafed with their age. There they had their inftructor from among the men called Pædonomi, and under him the Iræns, young men felected from their own body, to exercife a more conftant and immediate command over them. They had now their fkirmifhes between parties, and their mock fights between larger bodies. In thefe they often fought with hands, feet, teeth, and nails, with fuch obftinacy, that it was common to fee them lofe their eyes, and often their lives, before the fray was determined. Such was the conftant difcipline of their minority, which lafted till the age of thirty, before which they were not permitted to marry, to go into the troops, or to bear any office in the ftate.

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With regard to the virgins, their discipline was equally strict with the former. They were inured to a constant course of labour and industry until they were twenty years old, before which time they were not allowed to be marriageable. They also had their peculiar exercises. They ran, wrestled, pitched the bar, and performed all these feats naked before the whole body of the citizens. Yet this was thought no way indecent, as it was supposed that the frequent view of the person would rather check than excite every looser appetite. An education so manlike, did not fail to produce in the Spartan women corresponding sentiments. They were bold, frugal, and patriotic, filled with a sense of honour, and a love of military glory. Some foreign women in conversation with the wife of Leonidas saying, that the Spartan women alone knew how to govern the men, she boldly replied, the Spartan women alone bring forth men. A mother was known to give her son, who was going to battle, his shield, with this remarkable advice, *Return with it, or return upon it.* Implying, that rather than throw it from him in flight, he should be borne upon it dead to his friends in Sparta. Another hearing that her son was killed fighting for his country, she answered without any emotion, it was for that I brought him into the world. After the battle of Leuctra, the parents of those

who

who died in the action, went to the temples to thank the gods that their sons had done their duty, while those whose children survived that dreadful day seemed inconsoleable.

Yet it must not be concealed, that in a city where the women were inspired with such a passion for military glory, they were not equally remarkable for connubial fidelity. In fact, there was no law against adultery, and an exchange of husbands was often actually practised among them. This was always indeed by the mutual consent of parties, which removed the tedious ceremonies of a divorce. One reason assigned for allowing this mutual liberty, was not so much to gratify licentious desire, as to improve the breed of citizens, by matching such as were possessed of mutual inclination. In fact, in many of the laws of Lycurgus he seems to admit, that private vices may become public benefits, and this among the number.

Besides these constitutional resolutions, there were many other general maxims laid down, that obtained the force of laws among them. They were forbid to exercise any mechanic art. The chief occupation of the Spartans was bodily exercises or hunting. The Helots who had lost their liberty some centuries before, and who had been condemned to perpetual slavery, tilled their lands

for them, receiving for their labour a bare subsistence. The citizens thus possessed of competence and leisure, were mostly in company in their large common halls, where they met and conversed together. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live like bees, always together, always attentive to their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and the public good was their predominant passion, and all self-interest was lost in the general wish for the welfare of the community. Pedarctus having missed the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank in the city, converted his disappointment into joy, *that there were three hundred better men in Sparta than he.*

Among the maxims of this legislator, it was forbidden them to make frequent war upon the same enemies. By this inhibition they were restrained from lasting and immoderate resentment, they were in no danger of teaching their discipline to those they made war upon, and all their alliances were thus more frequently renewed.

Whenever they had broken and routed their enemies, they never pursued them farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory. They thought it sufficiently glorious to overcome, and were ashamed of destroying an enemy that yielded or fled. Nor was this without

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anſwering ſome good purpoſes; for the enemy, conſcious that all who reſiſted were put to the ſword, often fled, as they were convinced that ſuch a conduct was the ſureſt means of obtaining ſafety. Thus valour and generoſity ſeemed the ruling motives of this new inſtitution; arms were their only exerciſe and employment, and their life was much leſs auſtere in the camp than the city. The Spartans were the only people in the world to whom the time of war was a time of eaſe and refreſhment, becauſe then the ſeverity of their manners was relaxed, and the men were indulged in greater liberties. With them the firſt and moſt violable law of war was never to turn their backs on the enemy, however diſproportioned in forces, nor to deliver up their arms until they reſigned them with life. When the poet Archilochus came to Sparta, he was obliged to quit the city, for having aſſerted in one of his poems, that it was better for a man to loſe his arms than his life. Thus reſolved upon conqueſt or death, they went calmly forward with all the confidence of ſucceſs, ſure of meeting a glorious victory, or what they valued equally, a noble death.

Thus depending upon their valour alone for ſafety, their legiſlator forbid walling the city. It was his maxim that a wall of men was preferable to a wall of brick, and that confined valour was

ſcarce preferable to cowardice. Indeed a city, in which were thirty thouſand fighting men, ſtood in little need of walls to protect it; and we have ſcarce an inſtance in hiſtory, of their ſuffering themſelves to be driven to their laſt retreats. War and its honours was their employment and ambition; their Helotes, or ſlaves, tilled their grounds, and did all their ſervile drudgery. Theſe unhappy men were in a manner bound to the ſoil, it was not lawful to ſell them to ſtrangers, or to make them free. If at any time their increaſe became inconvenient, or created a ſuſpicion in their fierce maſters, there was a *cryptia*, or *ſecret act*, by which they were permitted to deſtroy them. From this barbarous ſeverity, however, Lycurgus is acquitted by Plutarch; but it is plain, that his inſtitutions were not ſufficient to reſtrain the people from ſuch baſeneſs and cruelty. It was by this act allowed for ſeveral companies of young men to go out of the city by day, and concealing themſelves in the thickets, to ruſh out in the night upon their ſlaves, and kill all they could find in their way. Thucydides relates, that two thouſand of theſe ſlaves diſappeared at once without ever after being heard of. It is truly amazing, how a people like the Spartans, renowned for lenity to the conquered, for ſubmiſſion to their ſuperiors, for reverence to old age, and friendſhip

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for each other, ſhould yet be ſo very brutal to thoſe beneath them; to men that ought to be conſidered in every reſpect as their equals, as their countrymen, and only degraded by an unjuſt uſurpation. Yet nothing is more certain than their cruel treatment; they were not only condemned to the moſt ſervile occupations, but often deſtroyed without reaſon. They were frequently made drunk and expoſed before the children, in order to deter them from ſo brutal a ſpecies of debauchery.

Such was the general purport of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which from their tendency gained the eſteem and admiration of all the ſurrounding nations. The Greeks were ever apt to be dazzled rather with ſplendid than uſeful virtues, and praiſed the laws of Lycurgus, which at beſt were calculated rather to make men warlike than happy, and to ſubſtitute inſenſibility inſtead of enjoyment. If conſidered in a political light, the city of Lacedæmon was but a military garriſon, ſupported by the labour of a numerous peaſantry that were ſlaves. The laws by which they were governed, are not much more rigorous than many of the military inſtitutions of modern princes; the ſame labour, the ſame diſcipline, the ſame poverty, and the ſame ſubordination, is found in many of the garriſoned towns of Europe, that prevailed

for so many centuries in Sparta. The only difference that appears to me between a soldier of Lacedæmon, and a soldier in garrison at Gravelin, is, that the one was permitted to marry at thirty, and the other is obliged to continue single all his life; the one lives in the midst of a civilized country, which he is supposed to protect, the other lived in the midst of a number of civilized states, which he had no inclination to offend. War is equally the trade of both, and a campaign is frequently a relaxation from the more rigorous confinement of garrison duty.

When Lycurgus had thus completed his military institution, and when the form of government he had established seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself, his next care was to give it all the permanence in his power. He, therefore, signified to the people, that something still remained for the completion of his plan, and that he was under a necessity of going to consult the oracle at Delphos for its advice. In the mean time, he persuaded them to take an oath for the strict observance of all his laws till his return, and then departed with a full resolution of never seeing Sparta more. When he was arrived at Delphos, he consulted the oracle, to know whether the laws he had made were sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy; and being answered

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that nothing was wanting to their perfection, he sent this answer to Sparta, and then voluntarily starved himself to death. Others say, that he died in Crete, ordering his body to be burnt, and his ashes to be thrown into the sea. The death of this great lawgiver gave a sanction and authority to his laws, which his life was unable to confer. The Spartans regarded his end as the most glorious of all his actions, and a noble finishing of all his former services: they built a temple, and paid divine honours to him after his death; they considered themselves as bound by every tie of gratitude and religion to a strict observance of all his institutions; and the long continuance of the Spartan government, is a proof of their persevering resolution.

The city of Lacedæmon thus instituted, seemed only desirous of an opportunity of displaying the superiority of their power among the neighbouring states, their rivals. The war between them and the Messenians, soon taught them to know the advantages of their military institution; but as I am hastening to more important events, I will touch upon this as concisely as I can. There was a temple of Diana common to the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, standing upon the borders of either kingdom. It was there that the Messenians were accused of attempting the chastity of some Spartan virgins, and of killing Teleclus, one of

of the Spartan kings, who interpofed in their defence. The Meffenians, on the other hand, denied the charge, and averred, that thofe fuppofed virgins were young men thus dreffed up with daggers under their cloaths, and placed there by Teleclus with an intent to furprife them. To the mutual refentment occafioned by this, another caufe of animofity was foon after added: Polychares, a Meffenian, who had won the prize in the Olympic games, let out fome cows to pafture to Euphænus, a Lacedæmonian, who was to pay himfelf for their keeping with a fhare of the increafe. Euphænus fold the cows, and pretended they were ftolen from him. Polychares fent his fon to demand the money; but the Lacedæmonian, to aggravate his crime, killed the young man, and perfuaded his countrymen to give no redrefs. Polychares, therefore, undertook to do himfelf juftice, and killed all the Lacedæmonians that came in his way. Expoftulations paffed between both kingdoms, till at laft the affair came to a general war, which was carried on for many years with doubtful fuccefs. In this fituation the Meffenians fent to confult the oracle of Delphos, who required the facrifice of a virgin of the family of Æpytus. Upon cafting lots among the defcendants of this prince, the chance fell upon the daughter of Lycifcus; but being thought to

be ſuppoſititious, Ariſtodemus offered his daughter, whom all allowed to be his own. Her lover, however, attempted to avert the blow, by aſſerting, that ſhe was with child by him; but her father was ſo enraged, that he ripped up her belly with his own hand publicly to vindicate her innocence. The enthuſiaſm which this ſacrifice produced, ſerved for a while to give the Meſſenians the advantage; but being at laſt overthrown and beſieged in the city of Ithoe, Ariſtodemus finding all things deſperate, ſlew himſelf upon his daughter's grave. With him fell the kingdom of Meſſenia, not without a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, and many a defeat of the Spartan army, which they held thus engaged for above twenty years. Nor muſt we omit one memorable tranſaction of the Lacedæmonians during this war: having drained their city of all its male inhabitants, and obliged themſelves by oath not to return until their deſigns were accompliſhed; their women, in the mean time, remonſtrated, that from their long abſence all poſterity would be at an end. To remedy this inconvenience, they detached fifty of their moſt promiſing young men from the army to go to Sparta, and to lie promiſcuouſly with all the young women they fancied. The offspring of theſe virgins were from them called Partheniæ, who finding themſelves contemned and

A. M. 3280.

ſlighted by the Spartans on their return, as a ſpurious brood, joined ſome years after in an inſurrection with the Helotes, but were ſoon ſuppreſſed. Being expelled the ſtate, they went under the conduct of their captain, Philantus, and ſettled at Tarentum, in Italy.

After a rigorous ſubjection of thirty-nine years, the Meſſenians once more made a vigorous ſtruggle for freedom, being headed by Ariſtomenes, a young man of great courage and capacity. The ſucceſs of the firſt engagement was doubtful, and the Lacedæmonians being adviſed by the oracle to ſend for a general from among the Athenians, this politic ſtate ſent them Tyrtæus, a poet and ſchoolmaſter, whoſe chief buſineſs was to harangue and repeat his own verſes. The Spartans were little pleaſed with their new leader, but their veneration for the oracle kept them obedient to his commands. Their ſucceſs, however, did not ſeem to improve with their duty; they ſuffered a defeat from Ariſtomenes, who, loſing his ſhield in the purſuit, their total overthrow was prevented. A ſecond and a third defeat followed ſoon after; ſo that the Lacedæmonians, quite diſpirited, had thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms. But Tyrtæus ſo enflamed them by his orations and ſongs in praiſe of military glory, that they reſolved upon

A. M. 3319.

another

another battle, in which they were victorious; and soon after Aristomenes was taken prisoner in a skirmish, with fifty of his followers.

The adventures of this hero deserve our notice. Being carried prisoner to Sparta, he was thrown into a deep dungeon which had been used for the execution of malefactors, and his fifty soldiers with him. They were all killed by the fall except Aristomenes, who finding a wild beast at the bottom preying upon a carcass, securing the animal's mouth, he continued to hold by the tail, until the beast made directly to its hole. There finding the issue too narrow, he was obliged to let go his hold; but following the track with his eye, he perceived a glimmering from above, and at length wrought his way out. After this extraordinary escape, he repaired immediately to his troops, and at their head made a successful sally, by night, against the Corinthian forces. Nevertheless, he was once more shortly after taken by some Cretans; but his keepers being made drunk, he stabbed them with their own daggers, and returned to his forces. But his single valour was not sufficient to avert the ruin of his country; although, with his own single prowess, he had thrice earned the Hecatomphonia, a sacrifice due to those who had killed one hundred of the enemy hand to hand in battle, yet the body of his forces being

being small, and fatigued with continual duty, the city of Eira, which he defended, was taken, and the Messenians were obliged to take refuge with Anaxilas, a prince of Sicily. As for Tyrtæus, the Lacedæmonians made him free of their city, which was the highest honour they had in their power to bestow. By the accession of the Messenian country to the territory of Sparta, this state became one of the most powerful of all Greece; and was second only to Athens, which state it always considered with an eye of jealousy.

A. M. 3340.

CHAP. III.

Of the Government of Athens, the Laws of Solon, and the History of the Republic from the Time of Solon to the Commencement of the Persian War.

WE now return to Athens. Codrus, the last king of this state, having devoted himself for the good of his country, a magistrate, under the title of Archon, was appointed to succeed him. The first who bore this office was Medon, the son of the late king, who, being opposed by his brother Nileus, was preferred by the oracle, and

and accordingly invested with his new dignity. This magiſtracy was at firſt for life; it was ſoon after reduced to a period of ten years, and at laſt became annual, and in this ſtate it continued for near three hundred years. During this inactive government, little offers to adorn the page of hiſtory; the ſpirit of extenſive dominion had not as yet entered into Greece, and the citizens were too much employed in their private intrigues to attend to foreign concerns. Athens therefore continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power, content with ſafety amidſt the contending intereſts of aſpiring potentates and factious citizens.

A deſire of being governed by written laws, at laſt made way for a new change in government. For more than a century, they had ſeen the good effects of laws in the regulation of the Spartan commonwealth; and, as they were a more enlightened people, they expected greater advantages from a new inſtitution. In the choice, therefore, of a legiſlator, they pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wiſdom and unſhaken integrity, but rigid even beyond human ſufferance. It does not appear that any ſtate of Greece was poſſeſſed of written laws before his time. However, he was not afraid to enact the moſt ſevere laws, which laid the ſame penalties on the moſt atrocious and the moſt trifling offences.

A. M. 3380.

offences. These laws punished all crimes with death, and were said not to be written with ink, but with blood. This Legislator being asked why he punished most offences with death? replied, *Small crimes deserve death*, and I have no higher for the greatest. But the excessive severity of his laws, prevented them from being justly administered. Sentiments of humanity in the judges, compassion for the accused when his fault was not equal to his suffering, the unwillingness of witnesses to exact too cruel an atonement, their fears also of the resentment of the people, all these conspired to render the laws obsolete before they could well be put into execution. Thus, the new laws counteracted their own purposes, and their excessive rigour paved the way for the most dangerous impunity.

It was in this distressful state of the commonwealth, that Solon was applied to for his advice and assistance, as the wisest and the justest man of all Athens. His great learning had acquired him the reputation of being the first of the seven wise men of Greece, and his known humanity procured him the love and veneration of every rank among his fellow-citizens. Solon was a native of Salamis, an island dependent on Athens, but which had revolted to put itself under the power of the Megareans. In attempting to recover this island, the

the Athenians had ſpent much blood and treaſure, until at laſt wearied out with ſuch ill ſucceſs, a law was made, rendering it capital ever to adviſe the recovery of their loſt poſſeſſion. Solon, however, undertook to perſuade them to another trial; and feigning himſelf mad, ran about the ſtreets, uſing the moſt violent geſtures and language; but the purport of all was, to upbraid the Athenians for their remiſſneſs and effeminacy, in giving up their conqueſts in deſpair. In ſhort, he acted his part ſo well, by the oddity of his manner, and the ſtrength of his reaſoning, that the people reſolved upon another expedition againſt Salamais; and, by a ſtratagem of his contrivance, in which he introduced ſeveral young men upon the iſland in women's cloaths, the place was ſurpriſed, and added to the dominion of Athens.

But this was not the only occaſion on which he exhibited ſuperior addreſs and wiſdom. At a time when Greece had carried the arts of eloquence, poetry, and government, higher than they had yet been ſeen among mankind, Solon was conſidered as one of the foremoſt in each perfection. The ſages of Greece, whoſe fame is ſtill undiminiſhed, acknowledged his merit, and adopted him as their aſſociate. The correſpondence between theſe wiſe men was at once inſtructive, friendly, and ſincere. They were ſeven in number, namely,

Thales

Thales the Milesian, Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedæmon, Pittacus of Mitylene, Periander of Corinth, Bias and Cleobulus, whose birth-places are not ascertained. Those sages often visited each other, and their conversations generally turned upon the methods of instituting the best form of government, or the arts of private happiness. One day when Solon went to Miletos to see Thales, the first thing he said, was to express his surprise that Thales had never desired to marry, or have children. Thales made him no answer then, but a few days after, he contrived that a stranger, supposed to arrive from Athens, should join their company. Solon, hearing from whence the stranger came, was inquisitive after the news of his own city, but was only informed that a young man died there, for whom the whole place was in the greatest affliction, as he was reputed the most promising youth in all Athens. Alas! cried Solon, how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied! pray, what was his name? I heard the name, replied the stranger, who was instructed for the occasion, but I have forgot it: I only remember that all people talked much of his wisdom and justice. Every answer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to the inquisitive father, and he had just strength enough to ask if the youth was the son of Solon? The very same, replied the

the ſtranger; at which words Solon ſhewed all the marks of the moſt inconſolable diſtreſs. This was the opportunity which Thales wanted, who took him by the hand, and ſaid to him with a ſmile, Comfort yourſelf my friend, all that has been told you is a mere fiction, but may ſerve as a very proper anſwer to your queſtion, why I never thought proper to marry.

One day at the court of Periander of Corinth, a queſtion was propoſed, which was the moſt perfect popular government? That, ſaid Bias, where the laws have no ſuperior. That, ſaid Thales, where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor. That, ſaid Anacharſis, the Scythian, where virtue is honoured and vice deteſted. That, ſaid Pittacus, where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the baſe. That, ſaid Cleobulus, where the citizens fear blame more than puniſhment. That, ſaid Chilo, where the laws are more regarded than the orators. But Solon's opinion ſeems to have the greateſt weight, who ſaid, where an injury done to the meaneſt ſubject is an inſult upon the whole conſtitution.

Upon a certain occaſion, when Solon was converſing with Anacharſis, the Scythian philoſopher, about his intneded reformations in the ſtate; "Alas, cried the Scythian, "all your laws will be found "to reſemble ſpiders webs; the weak and ſmall "flies

"flies will be caught and entangled, but the great "and powerful will always have ſtrength enough "to break through."

Solon's interview with Crœſus king of Lydia, is ſtill more celebrated. This monarch, who was reputed the richeſt of all Aſia Minor, was willing to make an oſtentatious diſplay of his wealth before the Greek philoſopher, and after ſhewing him immenſe heaps of treaſure, and the greateſt variety of other ornaments, he demanded whether he did not think the poſſeſſor the moſt happy of all mankind. No, replied Solon; I know one man more happy, a poor peaſant of Greece, who neither in affluence or poverty, has but few wants, and has learned to ſupply them by his labour. This anſwer was by no means agreeable to the vain monarch, who by his queſtion only hoped for a reply that would tend to flatter his pride. Willing, therefore, to extort one ſtill more favourable, he aſked whether, at leaſt he did not think him happy. Alas, cried Solon, what man can be pronounced happy before he dies. The integrity and the wiſdom of Solon's replies appeared in the event. The kingdom of Lydia was invaded by Cyrus, the empire deſtroyed, and Crœſus himſelf was taken priſoner. When he was led out to execution, according to the barbarous manners of the times, he then too late re-

collected the maxims of Solon, and could not help crying out when on the scaffold upon Solon's name: Cyrus hearing him repeat the name with great earnestness, was desirous of knowing the reason; and being informed by Crœsus of that philosopher's remarkable observation, he began to fear for himself, pardoned Crœsus, and took him for the future into confidence and friendship. Thus Solon had the merit of saving one King's life, and of reforming another.

Such was the man to whom the Athenians applied for assistance in reforming the severity of their government, and instituting a just body of laws. Athens was at that time divided into as many factions, as there were different sorts of inhabitants in Attica. Those that lived upon the mountains were fond of exact equality, those that lived in the low country were for the dominion of a few, and those that dwelt on the sea-coasts, and were consequently addicted to commerce, were for keeping those parties so exactly balanced, as to permit neither to prevail. But, besides these, there was a fourth party, and that by much the most numerous, consisting wholly of the poor, who were grievously harrassed and oppressed by the rich, and loaded with debts which they were not able to discharge. This unhappy party, which, when they know their own strength, must ever prevail, were now determined to throw off the yoke

of their oppreſſors, and to chuſe themſelves a chief who ſhould make a reformation in government, by making a new diviſion of lands.

As Solon had never ſided with either, he was regarded as the refuge of all, the rich liking him becauſe he was rich, and the poor becauſe he was honeſt. Though he was at firſt unwilling to undertake ſo dangerous an employment, he at laſt ſuffered himſelf to be choſen archon, and to be conſtituted ſupreme legiſlator with the unanimous conſent of all. This was a ſituation in which nothing could be added to his power; yet many of the citizens adviſed him to make himſelf king, but he had too much wiſdom to ſeek after a name which would render him obnoxious to many of his fellow-citizens, while he was in fact poſſeſſed of more than regal authority. *A tyranny*, he would ſay, *reſembles a fair garden, it is a beautiful ſpot while we are within, but it wants a way to get out at.*

Rejecting, therefore, the wiſh of royalty, he reſolved upon ſettling a form of government that ſhould be founded on the baſis of juſt and reaſonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain diſorders which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations but ſuch as were apparently reaſonable to the meaneſt capacity. In ſhort, it was his aim to give the Athenians not the beſt of poſſible conſtitutions, but the very beſt they were capable of receiving.

ceiving. His first attempt was, therefore, in favour of the poor, whose debts he abolished at once, by an express law of insolvency. But to do this with the least injury he could to the creditor, he raised the value of money in a moderate proportion, by which he nominally increased their riches. But his management on this occasion had like to have had very dangerous consequences, for some of his friends, to whom the scheme had been previously communicated, took up vast sums of money while it was low, in order to be possessed of the difference when it became of greater value. Solon himsef was suspected of having a hand in this fraud, but to wipe off all suspicion, he remitted his debtors five, or, as others say, fifteen talents, and thus regained the confidence of the people.

His next step was to repeal all the laws enacted by Draco, except those against murder. He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich. He distributed the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to their incomes. Those that were found to have five hundred measures yearly, as well in corn as liquids, were placed in the first rank, those that had three hundred were placed in the second, and those that had but two hundred made up the third. All the rest of the citizens whose income fell short

of two hundred meaſures, were comprifed in a fourth and laſt claſs, and were conſidered as unqualified for any employment whatever. But to compenſate for this excluſion, he gave every private citizen a privilege of voting in the great aſſembly of the whole body of the ſtate. This, indeed, at firſt might appear a conceſſion of ſmall conſequence, but it was ſoon found to contain very ſolid advantages. For, by the laws of Athens, it was permitted, after the determination of the magiſtrates, to appeal to the general aſſembly of the people, and thus, in time, all cauſes of weight and moment came before them.

In ſome meaſure to counteract the influence of a popular aſſembly, he gave greater weight to the court of Areopagus, and alſo inſtituted another council conſiſting of four hundred. The Areopagus, ſo called from the place where the court was held, had been eſtabliſhed ſome centuries before, but Solon reſtored and augmented its authority. To this court was committed the care of cauſing the laws to be obſerved and put in execution. Before his time the citizens of the greateſt probity and juſtice were made judges of that tribunal. Solon was the firſt who thought it convenient that none ſhould be honoured with that dignity, but ſuch as had paſſed through the office of archon. Nothing was ſo auguſt as this court, and its reputation for judgment and integrity be-

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came ſo very great, that the Romans ſometimes referred cauſes which were too intricate for their own deciſion, to the determination of this tribunal. Nothing was regarded here but truth; that no external objects might pervert juſtice, the tribunal was held in darkneſs, and the advocates were denied all attempts to work upon the paſſions of the judges. Superior to this, Solon inſtituted the great council of four hundred, who were to judge upon appeals from the Areopagus, and maturely to examine every queſtion before it came to be debated in a general aſſembly of the people.

Such was the reformation in the general inſtitutions for the good of the ſtate; his particular laws for diſpenſing juſtice were more numerous. In the firſt place, all perſons who in public diſſenſions and differences eſpouſed neither party, but continued to act with a blameable neutrality, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual puniſhment, and to have all their eſtates confiſcated. Nothing could more induce mankind to a ſpirit of patriotiſm than this celebrated law. A mind thus obliged to take part in public concerns, learns, from habit, to make thoſe concerns its principal care, and ſelf-intereſt quickly ſinks before them. By this method of accuſtoming the minds of the people to look upon that man as an enemy that ſhould appear indifferent and unconcerned in the misfortunes of the public, he provided the ſtate

with a quick and general resource in every dangerous emergency.

He next permitted every particular person to espouse the quarrel of any one that was injured or insulted. By this means, every person in the state became the enemy of him who did wrong, and the turbulent thus were overpowered by the number of their opponents.

He abolished the custom of giving portions in marriage with young women, unless they were only daughters. The bride was to carry no other fortune to her husband than three suits of cloaths, and some houshold goods of little value. It was his aim to prevent making matrimony a traffic, he considered it as an honourable connexion, calculated for the mutual happiness of both parties, and the general advantage of the state.

Before this lawgiver's time the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills, but the wealth of the deceased naturally, and of course, devolved upon his children. Solon allowed every one that was childless to dispose of his whole estate as he thought fit, preferring by that means friendship to kindred, and choice to necessity and constraint. From this institution the bond between the parents and children became more solid and firm, it confirmed the just authority of the one, and increased the necessary dependence of the other.

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He made a regulation to leſſen the rewards to the victors at the Olympic and Iſthmian games. He conſidered it as unjuſt, that a ſet of idle people, generally uſeleſs, often dangerous to the ſtate, ſhould receive thoſe rewards which ſhould go to the deſerving. He wiſhed to ſee thoſe emoluments go to the widows and families of ſuch as fell in the ſervice of their country, and to make the ſtipend of the ſtate honourable, by being conferred only on the brave.

To encourage induſtry, the Areopagus was charged with the care of examining into every man's method of living, and of chaſtiſing all who led an idle life. The unemployed were conſidered as a ſet of dangerous and turbulent ſpirits, eager after innovation, and hoping to mend their fortunes from the plunder of the ſtate. To diſcountenance all idleneſs, therefore, a ſon was not obliged to ſupport his father in old age or neceſſity, if the latter had neglected giving him ſome trade or occupation. All illegitimate children were alſo exempted from the ſame duty, as they owed little to their parents except an indelible reproach.

It was forbidden to revile any one in public; the magiſtrates, who were not eligible till thirty, were to be particularly circumſpect in their behaviour, and it was even death for an archon to be taken drunk. It is obſervable that he made no

 law

law againſt parricide, as ſuppoſing it a crime that could never exiſt in any community.

With regard to women, he permitted any man to kill an adulterer if he was taken in the fact. He allowed of public brothels, but prohibited mercenary proſtitutes from keeping company with modeſt women, and, as a badge of diſtinction, to wear flowered garments. The men alſo who were notorious for frequenting their company were not allowed to ſpeak in public, and he who forced a woman incurred a very heavy fine.

Theſe were the chief inſtitutions of this celebrated lawgiver, and although neither ſo ſtriking, nor yet ſo well authoriſed as thoſe of Lycurgus, they did not fail to operate for ſeveral ſucceeding ages, and ſeemed to gather ſtrength by obſervance. As theſe laws became the baſis of Roman juriſprudence, which has ſince been received almoſt throughout Europe, under the name of the civil law, it may be affirmed that many of Solon's inſtitutes are yet in force. After he had framed theſe inſtitutions, his next care was to give them ſuch notoriety that none could plead ignorance. To this end tranſcripts of them were publicly hung up in the city for every one to peruſe, while a ſet of magiſtrates named Theſmothetæ, were appointed to reviſe them carefully, and diſtinctly repeat them once a year. Then, in order to perpetuate his ſtatutes, he engaged the people by a

public

public oath to obſerve them religiouſly, at leaſt for the term of an hundred years; and thus, having completed the taſk aſſigned him, he withdrew from the city to avoid the importunity of ſome, and the captious petulance of others. For, as he well knew, it was hard, if not impoſſible, to pleaſe all.

Solon being thus employed on his travels in viſiting Egypt, Lydia, and ſeveral other countries, left Athens to become habituated to his new inſtitutions, and to try by experience the wiſdom of their formation. But it was not eaſy for a city long torn by civil diſſenſions to yield implicit obedience to any laws, how wiſely ſoever framed; their former animoſities began to revive, when that authority was removed which alone could hold them in ſubjection. The factions of the ſtate were headed by three different leaders, who enflamed the animoſity of the people againſt each other, hoping by the ſubverſion of all order, to indulge their own private hopes of preferment. A perſon named Lycurgus was at the head of the people that inhabited the low country, Piſiſtratus declared for thoſe who lived in the mountains, and Megacles was the leader of the inhabitants upon the ſea coaſt.

Piſiſtratus was of theſe the moſt powerful. He was a well bred man, of a gentle and inſinuating behaviour, ready to ſuccour and aſſiſt the poor,

whose cause he pretended to espouse. He was wise, and moderate to his enemies, a most artful and accomplished dissembler, and was every way virtuous except in his inordinate ambition. His ambition gave him the appearance of possessing qualities which he really wanted, he seemed the most zealous champion for equality among the citizens, while he was actually aiming at the entire subversion of freedom, and he declared loudly against all innovations, while he was actually meditating a change. The giddy multitude caught by these appearances were zealous in seconding his views, and without examining his motives were driving headlong to tyranny and destruction.

It was just at the eve of success, and upon the point of being indulged in his utmost ambition, that Pisistratus had the mortification of seeing Solon return after an absence of ten years, apprized of his designs, and willing to subvert his schemes. Sensible, therefore, of his danger, and conscious of the penetration of this great lawgiver, the aspiring demagogue used all his artifice to conceal his real designs, and while he flattered him in public, used every endeavour to bring over the people to second his interests. Solon at first endeavoured to oppose art to his cunning, and to foil him at his own weapons. He praised him in his turn, and was heard to declare, what might

have been true, that excepting the immoderate ambition of Pifiſtratus, he knew no man of greater, or more exalted virtues. Still, however, he ſet himſelf to counteract his projects, and to defeat his deſigns before they were ripe for execution.

But in a vicious commonwealth, no aſſiduity can warn, no wiſdom protect. Piſiſtratus ſtill urged his ſchemes with unabating ardour, and every day made new proſelytes by his profeſſions and his liberalities. At length, finding his ſchemes ripe for open action, he gave himſelf ſeveral wounds, and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in his chariot to the market-place, where, by his complaints and eloquence, he ſo enflamed the populace, that they conſidered him as the victim of their cauſe, and as ſuffering ſuch cruel treatment in their defence. An aſſembly of the people was, therefore, immediately convened, from whom he demanded a guard of fifty perſons for his future ſecurity. It was in vain that Solon uſed all his authority and eloquence to oppoſe ſo dangerous a requeſt. He conſidered his ſufferings as merely counterfeited. He compared him to Ulyſſes in Homer, who cut himſelf, with ſimilar deſigns; but he alledged that he did not act the part right, for the deſign of Ulyſſes was to deceive his enemies, but that of Piſiſtratus was levelled againſt his friends and ſupporters. He upbraided the people with their ſtupidity,

pidity, telling them, that for his own part he had ſenſe enough to ſee through this deſign, but they only had ſtrength enough to oppoſe it. His exhortations, however, were vain, the party of Piſiſtratus prevailed, and a guard of fifty men was appointed to attend him. This was all that he aimed at, for now having the protection of ſo many creatures of his own, nothing remained but inſenſibly to increaſe their number. Thus every day his hirelings were ſeen to augment, while the ſilent fears of the citizens increaſed in equal proportion. But it was now too late, for having raiſed the number ſo as to put him beyond the danger of a repulſe, he at length ſeized upon the citadel, while none was left who had courage or conduct to oppoſe him.

In this general conſternation, which was the reſult of folly on the one hand, and treachery on the other, the whole city was one ſcene of tumult and diſorder, ſome flying, others inwardly complaining, others preparing for ſlavery with patient ſubmiſſion. Solon was the only man who, without fear or ſhrinking, deplored the folly of the times, and reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and treachery. You might, ſaid he, with eaſe have cruſhed the tyrant in the bud, but nothing now remains but to pluck him up by the roots. As for himſelf, he had at leaſt the ſatiſ-

faction

faction of having discharged his duty to his country and the laws; a for the rest, he had nothing to fear, and now upon the destruction of his country, his only confidence was in his great age, which gave him hopes of not being a long survivor. In fact, he did not survive the liberty of his country above two years; he died at Cyprus in the eightieth year of his age, lamented and admired by every state of Greece. Besides his skill in legislation, Solon was remarkable for several other shining qualifications. He understood eloquence in so high a degree, that from him Cicero dates the origin of eloquence in Athens. He was successful also in poetry, and Plato asserts, that it was only for want of due application that he did not come to dispute the prize with Homer himself.

The death of Solon only served to involve Athens in new troubles and commotions. Lycurgus and Megacles, the leaders of the two opposite factions, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of the city, but he was soon after recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. New disturbances arose; Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself, for he had art to acquire power, and moderation to maintain it. The mildness of his government, and his implicit submission to the laws, made the people for-

get

get the means by which he acquired his power; and, caught by his lenity, they overlooked his usurpation. His gardens and pleasure-grounds were free to all the citizens; and he is said to be the first who opened a public library at Athens. Cicero is of opinion, that Pisistratus first made the Athenians acquainted with the books of Homer, that he disposed them in the order in which they now remain, and first caused them to be read at the feasts called Panathanea, which were in honour of Minerva, and were at first called Athenea; and when afterwards revived and amplified by Theseus, who had collected the people of Attica into one city, were called *Panathenea, the sacrifice of all the Athenians*. His justice was not less remarkable than his politeness. Being accused of murder, though it was in the time of his tyranny, he disdained to take the advantage of his authority, but went in person to plead his cause before the Areopagus, where his accuser would not venture to appear. In short, he was master of many excellent qualities, and perverted them no farther than as they stood in competition with empire. Nothing could be objected to him but his having greater power than the laws, and by not exerting that power he almost reconciled the citizens to royalty. Upon these accounts he was deservedly opposed to usurpers of fewer virtues, and there

seemed

seemed such a resemblance between him and a more successful invader of his country's freedom, that Julius Cæsar was called the Pisistratus of Rome.

Pisistratus dying in tranquillity, transmitted the sovereign power to his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who seemed to inherit all their father's virtues. A passion for learning and its professors, had for some time prevailed in Athens; and this city, which had already far out-gone all its contemporaries in all the arts of refinement, seemed to submit tamely to kings, who made learning their pride and their profession. Anacreon, Simonides, and others, were invited to their courts, and richly rewarded. Schools were instituted for the improvement of youth in the learned professions, and Mercuries were set up in all the highways, with moral sentences written upon them, for the instruction of the lowest vulgar. Their reign, however, lasted but eighteen years, and ended upon the following occasion.

Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship for each other, and resolved to revenge the injuries which should be committed against either with common resentment. Hipparchus being naturally amorous, debauched the sister of Harmodius, and afterwards published her shame as she was

about

about to walk in one of the ſacred proceſſions, alledging, that ſhe was not in a condition to aſſiſt at the ceremony. Such a complicated indignity naturally excited the reſentment of the two friends, who formed a fixed reſolution of deſtroying the tyrants, or falling in the attempt. Willing, however, to wait the moſt favourable opportunity, they deferred their purpoſe to the feaſt of the Panathanea, in which the ceremony required that all the citizens ſhould attend in armour. For their greater ſecurity, they admitted only a ſmall number of their friends into the ſecret of their deſign, conceiving that upon the firſt commotion they ſhould not want for abettors. Thus reſolved, the day being come, they went early into the market-place, each armed with his dagger, and ſteadfaſt to his purpoſe. In the mean time, Hippias was ſeen iſſuing with his followers from the palace, to give orders without the city to the guards for the intended ceremony. As the two friends continued to follow him at a little diſtance, they perceived one of thoſe to whom they had communicated their deſign, talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend their plot was betrayed. Eager, therefore, to execute their deſign, they were preparing to ſtrike the blow, but recollected that the real aggreſſor would thus go unpuniſhed. They once more, therefore, re-

turned

turned into the city, willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of their indignities. They were not long in queſt of Hipparchus, they met him upon their return, and ruſhing upon him, diſpatched him with their daggers without delay, but were ſoon after themſelves ſlain in the tumult. Hippias hearing of what was done, to prevent farther diſorders, got all thoſe diſarmed whom he in the leaſt ſuſpected of being privy to the deſign, and then meditated revenge.

Among the friends of the late aſſertors of freedom, was one Leona, a courtezan, who by the charms of her beauty, and her ſkill in playing on the harp, had captivated ſome of the conſpirators, and was ſuppoſed to be deeply engaged in the deſign. As the tyrant, for ſuch the late attempt had rendered him, was conſcious that nothing was concealed from this woman, he ordered her to be put to the torture, in order to extort the names of her accomplices. But ſhe bore all the cruelty of their torments with invincible conſtancy; and leſt ſhe ſhould in the agony of pain be induced to a confeſſion, ſhe bit off her own tongue and ſpit it in the tyrant's face. In this manner ſhe died faithful to the cauſe of liberty, ſhewing the world a remarkable example of conſtancy in her ſex. The Athenians would not ſuffer the memory of ſo heroic an action to paſs into oblivion. They

erected a ſtatue to her memory, in which a lioneſs was repreſented without a tongue.

In the mean time, Hippias ſet no bounds to his indignation. A rebellious people ever makes a ſuſpicious tyrant. Numbers of citizens were put to death; and to guard himſelf for the future againſt a like enterprize, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh his power by foreign alliances. He gave his daughter in marriage to the ſon of the tyrant of Lampſacus, he cultivated a correſpondence with Artaphanes, governor of Sardis, and endeavoured to gain the friendſhip of the Lacedæmonians, who were at that time the moſt powerful people of Greece.

But he was ſupplanted in thoſe very alliances from which he hoped the greateſt aſſiſtance. The family of the Alcmæonidæ, who from the beginning of the revolution had been baniſhed from Athens, endeavoured to undermine his intereſts at Sparta, and they at length ſucceeded. Being poſſeſſed of great riches, and alſo very liberal in their diſtribution, among other public ſervices, they obtained liberty to rebuild the temple at Delphos, which they fronted in a moſt magnificent manner with Parian marble. So noble a munificence was not without a proper acknowledgment of gratitude from the prieſteſs of Apollo, who, willing to oblige them, made her oracle the echo

of

of their desires. As there was nothing, therefore, which this family so ardently desired as the downfal of regal power in Athens, the priestess seconded their intentions; and whenever the Spartans came to consult the oracle, no promise was ever made of the god's assistance, but upon condition that Athens should be set free. This order was so often repeated by the oracle, that the Spartans at last resolved to obey. Their first attempts were, however, unsuccessful; the troops they sent against the tyrant were repulsed with loss. A second effort succeeded. Athens was besieged, and the children of Hippias were made prisoners as they were secretly conveyed to a place of safety out of the city. To redeem these from slavery, the father was obliged to come to an accommodation, by which he consented to give up his pretensions to the sovereign power, and to depart out of the Athenian territories in the space of five days. Thus Athens was once more set free from its tyrants, and obtained its liberty the very same year that the kings were expelled from Rome. The family of Alcmæon were chiefly instrumental, but the people seemed fonder of acknowledging their obligations to the two friends who struck the first blow. The names of Harmodius and Aristogiton were held in the highest respect in all succeeding

A. M. 3496.

ceeding ages, and ſcarce conſidered inferior even to the gods themſelves. Their ſtatues were erected in the market-place, an honour which had never been rendered to any before; and, gazing upon theſe, the people caught a love for freedom, and a deteſtation for tyranny, which neither time nor terrors could ever after remove.

CHAP. IV.

A SHORT SURVEY OF THE STATE OF GREECE PREVIOUS TO THE PERSIAN WAR.

HITHERTO we have ſeen the ſtates of Greece in conſtant fluctuation, different ſtates riſing, and others diſappearing, one petty people oppoſed to another, and both ſwallowed up by a third. Every city emerging from the ancient form of government which was originally impoſed upon it, and by degrees acquiring greater freedom. We have ſeen the introduction of written laws, and the benefits they produced, by giving ſtability to government.

During theſe ſtruggles for power among their neighbouring ſtates, and for freedom at home, the moral ſciences, the arts of eloquence, poetry, arms, were making a rapid progreſs among them, and

and thoſe inſtitutions which they originally borrowed from the Egyptians, were every day receiving ſignal improvements. As Greece was now compoſed of ſeveral ſmall republics bordering upon each other, and differing in their laws, characters, and cuſtoms, this was a continual ſource of emulation; and every city was not only deſirous of warlike ſuperiority, but alſo of excelling in all the arts of peace and refinement. Hence they were always under arms, and continually exerciſed in war, while their philoſophers and poets travelled from city to city, and by their exhortations and ſongs, warmed them with a love of virtue, and with an ardour for military glory. Theſe peaceful and military accompliſhments raiſed them to their higheſt pitch of grandeur, and they now only wanted an enemy worthy of their arms to ſhew the world their ſuperiority. The Perſian monarchy, the greateſt at that time in the world, ſoon offered itſelf as their opponent, and the conteſt ended with its total ſubverſion.

But as Greece was continually changing not only its government, but its cuſtoms, as in one century it preſented a very different picture from what it offered in the preceding, it will be neceſſary to take a ſecond view of this confederacy of little republics previous to their conteſts with Perſia, as by comparing their ſtrength with that of their

their opponent, we ſhall find how much wiſdom, diſcipline, and valour, are ſuperior to numbers, wealth, and oſtentation.

Foremoſt in this confederacy we may reckon the city of Athens, commanding the little ſtate of Attica, their whole dominions ſcarce exceeding the largeſt of our Engliſh counties in circumference. But what was wanting in extent was made up by the citizens being inured to war, and impreſſed with the higheſt ideas of their own ſuperiority. Their orators, their philoſophers, and their poets, had already given leſſons of politeneſs to mankind; and their generals, though engaged only in petty conflicts with their neighbours, had begun to practiſe new ſtratagems in war. There were three kinds of inhabitants in Athens; citizens, ſtrangers, and ſervants. Their number uſually amounted to twenty-one thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſtrangers, and from forty to threeſcore thouſand ſervants.

A citizen could only be ſuch by birth, or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was neceſſary to be born of a father and mother both Athenians, and both free. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon ſtrangers, and thoſe whom they had ſo adopted, enjoyed almoſt the ſame rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizen of Athens was

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ſometimes granted in honour and gratitude to thoſe who merited well of the ſtate, as to Hippocrates the phyſician; and even kings ſometimes canvaſſed that title for themſelves and their children. When the young men attained the age of twenty, they were enrolled upon the liſt of citizens, after having taken an oath, and in virtue of this they became members of the ſtate.

Strangers, or foreigners, who came to ſettle at Athens for the ſake of commerce, or of exerciſing any trade, had no ſhare in government, nor votes in the aſſemblies of the people. They put themſelves under the protection of ſome citizen, and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and ſervices. They paid a yearly tribute to the ſtate of twelve drachmas, and in default of payment were made ſlaves, and expoſed to ſale.

Of ſervants, there were ſome free, and others ſlaves, who had been taken in war, or bought of ſuch as trafficked in them. The former were freemen, who, through indigence, were driven to receive wages; and, while they were in this ſtate, they had no vote in the aſſembly. Slaves were abſolutely the property of their maſters, and, as ſuch, were uſed as they thought proper. They were forbidden to wear cloaths, or to cut their hair like their maſters, and, which indeed is amaz-

ing, Solon excluded them from the pleasure or privilege of pæderasty, as if that had been honourable. They were likewise debarred from anointing or perfuming themselves, and from worshipping certain deities: they were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in most other respects were treated as inferior animals. Their masters stigmatized them, that is, branded them with letters in the forehead, and elsewhere: however, there was even an asylum for slaves, where the bones of Theseus had been interred; and that asylum subsisted for near two thousand years. When slaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity, they might bring their masters to justice; who, if the fact were sufficiently proved, were obliged to sell them to another master. They could even ransom themselves against their master's consent, when they had laid up money enough for that purpose; for out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their master, they kept the remainder for themselves, and made a stock of it at their own disposal. Private persons, when they were satisfied with their services, often gave them their liberty; and when the necessity of the times obliged the state to make their greatest levies, they were enrolled among the troops, and from thence were ever after free.

The revenues of this city, according to Ariſtophanes, amounted to two thouſand talents, or about three hundred thouſand pounds of our money. They were generally gathered from the taxes upon agriculture, the ſale of woods, the produce of mines, the contributions paid them by their allies, a capitation levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as ſtrangers, and from fines laid upon different miſdemeanors. The application of theſe revenues was in paying the troops, both by land and ſea, building and fitting out fleets, keeping up and repairing public buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But in the decline of the republic, the greateſt part was conſumed in frivolous expences, games, feaſts, and ſhows, which coſt immenſe ſums, and were of no manner of utility to the ſtate.

But the greateſt glory of Athens, was its being the ſchool and abode of polite learning, arts, and ſciences. The ſtudy of poetry, eloquence, philoſophy, and mathematics began there, and came almoſt to their utmoſt perfection. The young people were firſt ſent to learn grammar under maſters who taught them regularly, and upon the principles of their own language. Eloquence was ſtudied with ſtill greater attention, as in that popular government it opened the way to the higheſt employments. To the ſtudy of rhetoric was annexed

nexed that of philosophy, which comprised all the sciences; and in these three were many masters, very conversant, but, as is common, their vanity still greater than their pretensions.

All the subordinate states of Greece seemed to make Athens the object of their imitation; and, though inferior to it upon the whole, yet each produced great scholars, and remarkable warriors in its turn. Sparta alone took example from no other state, but still rigorously attached to the institutions of its great lawgiver, Lycurgus, it disdained all the arts of peace, which, while they polished, served to enervate the mind; and formed only for war, looked forward to campaigns and battles, as scenes of rest and tranquillity. All the laws of Sparta, and all the institutions of Lycurgus, seemed to have no other object than war; all other employments, arts, polite learning, sciences, trades, and even husbandry itself, were prohibited amongst them. The citizens of Lacedæmon were of two sorts: those who inhabited the city of Sparta, and who for that reason were called Spartans; and those who inhabited the country dependent thereon. In the times of Lycurgus the Spartans amounted to nine thousand men, the countrymen to thirty thousand. This number was rather diminished than increased in succeeding times, but it still composed a formidable body,

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that often gave laws to the reſt of Greece. The Spartan ſoldiers, properly ſo called, were conſidered as the flower of the nation; and we may judge of their eſtimation, by the anxiety the republic expreſſed when three hundred of them were once taken priſoners by the Athenians.

But notwithſtanding the great valour of the Spartan ſtate, it was formed rather for a defenſive than an offenſive war. They were always careful to ſpare the troops of their country, and as they had very little money, they were not in a capacity to ſend their armies upon diſtant expeditions.

The armies both of Sparta and Athens were compoſed of four ſorts of troops: citizens, allies, mercenaries, and ſlaves. The greateſt number of troops in the two republics were compoſed of allies, who were paid by the citizens who ſent them. Thoſe which received pay from their employers were ſtyled mercenaries. The number of ſlaves attending on every army was very great, and the Helotes, in particular, were employed as light infantry.

The Greek infantry conſiſted of two kinds of ſoldiers; the one heavy armed, and carrying great ſhields, ſpears, and ſcimitars; the other light armed, carrying javelins, bows, and ſlings. Theſe were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings, to ſhoot their arrows, or fling their

their javelins and ſtones at the enemy, and then retire through the intervals behind the ranks, to dart out occaſionally upon the retiring enemy.

The Athenians were pretty much ſtrangers to cavalry, and the Lacedæmonians did not begin the uſe thereof till after the war with Meſſene. They raiſed their horſe principally in a ſmall city not far from Lacedæmon, called Sciros, and they were always placed on the extremity of the left wing, which poſt they claimed as their rightful ſtation.

But to recompenſe this defect of cavalry, the Athenians, in naval affairs, had a great ſuperiority over all the ſtates of Greece. As they had an extenſive ſea-coaſt, and as the profeſſion of a merchant was held reputable among them,—their navy increaſed, and was at length ſufficiently powerful to intimidate the fleets of Perſia.

Such were the two ſtates, that in ſome meaſure engroſſed all the power of Greece to themſelves; and, though ſeveral petty kingdoms ſtill held their governments in independence, yet they owed their ſafety to the mutual jealouſy of theſe powerful rivals, and always found ſhelter from the one againſt the oppreſſions of the other. Indeed the diſſimilarity of their habits, manners, and education, ſerved as well to divide theſe two ſtates, as their political ambition. The Lacedæmonians

were ſevere, and ſeemed to have ſomething almoſt brutal in their character. A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers haughtily ſullen and untractable. The Athenians were naturally obliging and agreeable, chearful among each other, and humane to their inferiors; but they were reſtleſs, unequal, timorous friends, and capricious protectors. From hence neither republic could ſufficiently win over the ſmaller ſtates of Greece to their intereſts; and, although their ambition would not ſuffer the country to remain in repoſe, yet their obvious defects were always a bar to the ſpreading their dominion. Thus the mutual jealouſy of theſe ſtates kept them both in conſtant readineſs for war, while their common defects kept the leſſer ſtates independent.

CHAP. V.

From the Expulsion of Hippias to the Death of Darius.

IT was in this diſpoſition of Athens and Sparta, and of the leſſer ſtates, their neighbours, that the Perſian monarchy began to intereſt itſelf in their diſputes, and made itſelf an umpire in their

contentions

contentions for liberty, only to ſeize upon the liberties of all. It has been already related, that Hippias being beſieged in Athens, and his children being taken priſoners, in order to releaſe them, he conſented to abdicate the ſovereign power, and to leave the dominions of Athens in five days. Athens, however, in recovering its liberty, did not enjoy that tranquillity which freedom is thought to beſtow. Two of the favourite citizens, Caliſthenes, a favourite of the people, and Iſagoras, who was ſupported by the rich, began to contend for that power which they had but a little while before joined in depreſſing. The former, who was become very popular, made an alteration in the form of their eſtabliſhment; and inſtead of four tribes, whereof they before conſiſted, enlarged their number to ten. He alſo inſtituted the manner of giving votes by Oſtraciſm, as it was called. The manner of performing this, was for every freeman not under ſixty years old, to give in a name of ſome citizen, whoſe power or fortune had, in his opinion, become dangerous to the ſtate, written upon a tile, or oyſter-ſhell (from whence the method of voting had its name) and he upon whom the majority fell, was pronounced baniſhed for ten years. Theſe laws, evidently calculated to increaſe the power of the people, were ſo diſpleaſing to Iſagoras, that, rather than ſub-

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mit, he had recourſe to Cleomenes king of Sparta, who undertook to eſpouſe his quarrel. In fact, the Lacedæmonians only wanted a favourable pretext for leſſening and deſtroying the power of Athens, which, in conſequence of the command of the oracle, they had ſo lately reſcued from tyranny. Cleomenes, therefore, availing himſelf of the divided ſtate of the city, entered Athens, and procured the baniſhment of Caliſthenes, with ſeven hundred families more, who had ſided with him in the late commotions. Not content with this, he endeavoured to new model the ſtate; but being ſtrongly oppoſed by the ſenate, he ſeized upon the citadel, from whence, however, in two days he was obliged to retire. Caliſthenes perceiving the enemy withdrawn, returned with his followers, and finding it vain to make any further attempts for power, reſtored the government as ſettled by Solon.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians repenting the ſervices they had rendered their rival ſtate, and perceiving the impoſture of the oracle, by which they were thus impelled to act againſt their own intereſts, began to think of reinſtating Hippias on the throne. But, previous to their attempt, they judged it prudent to conſult the ſubordinate ſtates of Greece, and to ſee what hopes they had of their concurrence and approbation.

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Nothing however could be more mortifying, than the universal detestation with which their proposal was received by the deputies of the states of Greece. The deputy of Corinth expressed the utmost indignation at the design, and seemed astonished that the Spartans, who were the avowed enemies of tyrants, should thus espouse the interests of one noted for cruelty and usurpation. The rest of the states warmly seconded his sentiments, and the Lacedæmonians, covered with confusion and remorse, abandoned Hippias and his cause for ever after.

Hippias being thus frustrated in his hopes of exciting the Greeks to second his pretensions, was resolved to have recourse to one who was considered as a much more powerful patron. Wherefore, taking his leave of the Spartans, he applied himself to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Persia, whom he endeavoured by every art to engage in a war against Athens. He represented to him the divided state of the city, he enlarged upon its riches, and the happiness of its situation for trade. He added the ease with which it might be taken, and the glory that would attend success. Influenced by these motives, the pride and the avarice of the Persian court were inflamed, and nothing was so ardently sought as the pretext of a dispute with the Athenians. When, therefore,

therefore, that city sent to the Persian court to vindicate their proceedings, alledging, that Hippias deserved no countenance from so great a people; the answer returned was,' *That if the Athenians would be safe, they must admit Hippias for their king.* Athens having so lately thrown off the yoke, had too lively a sense of its past calamities to accept safety upon such base conditions, and resolved to suffer the last extremity rather than open their gates to a tyrant. When Artaphernes, therefore, demanded the restoration of Hippias, the Athenians boldly returned him a downright and absolute refusal. From this arose the war between Greece and Persia, one of the most glorious, and the most remarkable that ever graced the annals of kingdoms.

But there were more causes than one tending to make a breach between these powerful nations, and producing an irreconcileable aversion for each other. The Greek colonies of Ionia, Æolia, and Caria, that were settled for above five hundred years in Asia Minor, were at length subdued by Crœsus king of Lydia; and he, in turn, sinking under the power of Cyrus, his conquests of course fell in with the rest of his dominions. The Persian monarch, thus possessed of a very extensive territory, placed governors over the several cities that were thus subdued; and as men bred

up in a despotic court, were likely enough to imitate the example set them at home, it is probable they abused their power. Be this as it may, in all the Greek cities they were called Tyrants; and as these little states had not yet lost all idea of freedom, they took every opportunity to recover their liberty, and made many bold, but unsuccessful struggles in that glorious cause. The Ionians particularly, who bore the greatest sway among them, let no occasion slip, which promised the smallest hopes of shaking off the Persian yoke.

That which favoured their designs upon the present occasion, was the expedition of Darius into Scythia, into which country he sent a numerous army, laying a bridge over the river Ister for that purpose. The Ionians were appointed to guard this important pass, but were advised by Miltiades, whom we shall afterwards find performing nobler exploits, to break down the bridge, and thus cut off the Persian retreat. The Ionians, however, rejected his counsel, and Darius returned with his army into Europe, where he added Thrace and Macedon to the number of his conquests.

Histiæus, the tyrant of Miletos, was the person who opposed the advice of Miltiades. Being of an ambitious and intriguing disposition, he was willing to lessen the merit of all his contempora-

ries, in order to enhance his own. But he was deceived in his expectations of ſucceſs; from theſe ſchemes Darius juſtly ſuſpecting his fidelity, took him with him to Suſa, under pretence of uſing his friendſhip and advice, but in reality of preventing his future machinations at home. But Hiſtiæus ſaw too clearly the cauſe of his detention, which he regarded as a ſpecious impriſonment, and therefore took every opportunity of ſecretly exciting the Ionians to a revolt, hoping, that himſelf might one day be ſent to bring them to reaſon.

Ariſtagoras was at that time this ſtateſman's deputy at Miletus, and received the inſtructions of his maſter to ſtir up the Ionian cities to revolt with the utmoſt alacrity. In fact, from a late failure of this general upon Naxos, his credit was ruined at the Perſian court, and no other alternative remained for him, but to comply with the advice of Hiſtiæus in ſtirring up a revolt, and of trying to place himſelf at the head of a new confederacy.

The firſt ſtep Ariſtagoras took to engage the affections of the Ionians, was to throw up his power in Miletus, where he was deputy, and to reinſtate that little place in all its former freedom. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example, his credit, and perhaps his me-

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naces, he induced every other governor to imitate his example. They all complied the more chearfully, as the Persian power since the check it had received in Scythia, was the less able to punish their revolt, or to protect them in their continued attachment. Having thus united all these little states by the consciousness of one common offence, he then threw off the mask, declaring himself at the head of the confederacy, and bid defiance to the power of Persia.

To enable himself to carry on the war with more vigour, he went in the beginning of the following year to Lacedæmon, in order to engage that state in his interests, and engage it in a war with a power that seemed every day to threaten the general liberty of Greece. Cleomenes was at that time king of Sparta, and to him Aristagoras applied for assistance, in what he represented as the common cause. He represented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that it would be for the honour of Sparta to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the Ionians to liberty; that the Persians were enervated by luxury; that their riches would serve to reward the conquerors, while nothing was so easy as their overthrow. Considering the present spirit of the Ionians, it would not be difficult, he said, for the victorious Spartans to

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carry their arms even to the gates of Susa, the metropolis of the Persian empire, and thus give laws to those who presumed to call themselves the sovereigns of the world. Cleomenes desired time to consider this proposal; and, being bred up in Spartan ignorance, demanded how far it was from the Ionian sea to Susa? Aristagoras, without considering the tendency of the question, answered, that it might be a journey of three months. Cleomenes made no answer, but turning his back upon so great an adventurer, gave orders, that before sun-set he should quit the city. Still, however, Aristagoras followed him to his house, and finding the inefficacy of his eloquence, tried what his offers of wealth could do. He at first offered him ten talents, he then raised the sum to fifteen; and it is unknown what effect such a large sum might have had upon the Spartan, had not his daughter, a child of nine years old, who was accidentally present at the proposal, cried out, *Fly father, or this stranger will corrupt you.* This advice given in the moment of suspense, prevailed; Cleomenes refused his bribes, and Aristagoras went to sue at other cities, where eloquence was more honoured, and wealth more alluring.

Athens was a city where he expected a more favourable reception. Nothing could be more fortunate for his interests than his arrival at the

very time they had received the peremptory message from the Persians to admit their tyrant, or to fear the consequences of their disobedience. The Athenians were at that time all in an uproar, and the proposal of Aristagoras met with the most favourable reception. It was much easier to impose upon a multitude than a single person. The whole body of citizens engaged immediately to furnish twenty ships to assist his designs; add to these, the Eretrians and Eubœans added five more.

Aristagoras, thus supplied, resolved to act with vigour; and having collected all his forces together, set sail for Ephesus; where, leaving his fleet, he entered the Persian frontiers, and marched by land to Sardis, the capital city of Lydia. Artaphernes, who resided there as the Persian viceroy, finding the city untenable, resolved to secure himself in the citadel, which he knew could not easily be forced. As most of the houses of this city were built with reeds, and consequently very combustible, one of the houses being set on fire by an Ionian soldier, the flames quickly spread to all the rest. Thus the whole town was quickly reduced to ashes, and numbers of the inhabitants were slain. But the Persians were soon avenged for this unnecessary cruelty; for either recovering themselves from their former panic, or being reinforced by the Lydians, they charged the Ionians

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in a body, and drove them back with great ſlaughter. Nor was the purſuit diſcontinued even as far as Epheſus, where the vanquiſhed and the victors arriving together, a great carnage enſued, and but a ſmall part of the routed army eſcaped, which took ſhelter aboard the fleet, or in the neighbouring cities. Other defeats followed after this. The Athenians, intimidated with ſuch a commencement of ill ſucceſs, could not be perſuaded to continue the war. The Cyprians were obliged once more to ſubmit to the Perſian yoke. The Ionians loſt moſt of their towns one after the other, and Ariſtagoras flying into Thrace, was cut off by the inhabitants with all his forces.

In the mean time, Hiſtiæus, who was the original cauſe of all theſe misfortunes, finding that he began to be ſuſpected in Perſia, left that court under a pretence of going to quell thoſe troubles, which he had all along ſecretly fomented; but his duplicity of conduct rendered him now ſuſpicious to either party. Artaphernes, the Perſian viceroy, plainly accuſed him of treachery, while his own Mileſians refuſed to admit him as their maſter. Thus wavering, uncertain, and not knowing where to turn, having picked up a few ſcattered remains of the routed armies, he fell in with Harpagus, one of the Perſian generals, who routed his forces, and made Hiſtiæus himſelf a priſoner.

Being sent to Artaphernes, that inhuman commander immediately caused him to be crucified, and ordered his head to be sent to Darius, who received the present with that disgust which evidenced his superior humanity. He wept over it with a friendly sorrow, and ordered that it should receive honourable interment.

In the mean time, the affairs of the Ionian confederacy every day became more desperate. The Persian generals, finding that Miletus was the city which they chiefly depended on, resolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding, that having carried that city, all the rest would submit of course. The Ionians having intelligence of this design, determined in a general assembly, to make no opposition by land, where the Persians were too powerful; but to fortify Miletus, and exert all their efforts by sea, where they hoped for the advantage, from their superior skill in naval evolutions. They accordingly assembled a fleet of three hundred ships at a little island over against Miletus, and on the superiority of this fleet they placed their whole reliance. But the Persian gold effected what their arms were unable to compass. Their emissaries having secretly debauched the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert; when the two fleets came to engage, the ships of Samos,

Leſbos, and ſeveral other places, failed off, and returned to their own country. Thus the remaining part of the fleet, which did not amount to more than an hundred ſhips, was quickly overpowered, and almoſt totally deſtroyed.

After this the city of Miletus was beſieged, and was eaſily taken. All the other cities, as well on the continent as among the iſlands, were forced to return to their duty. Thoſe who continued obſtinate were treated with great ſeverity. The handſomeſt of the young men were choſen to ſerve in the king's palace, and the young women were all ſent into Perſia. Thus ended the revolt of the Ionians, which continued ſix years from its firſt breaking out under Ariſtagoras, and this was the third time the Ionians were obliged to undergo the yoke of foreign dominion; for they inherited a natural love of freedom, which all the Greeks were known to poſſeſs.

The Perſians, having thus ſubdued the greateſt part of Aſia Minor, began to look towards Europe, as offering conqueſts worthy their ambition. The aſſiſtance given the Ionians by the Athenian fleet, and the refuſal of that ſtate to admit Hippias as their king, the taking of Sardis, and the contempt they teſtified for the Perſian power, were all ſufficient motives for exciting the reſentment of that empire, and for marking out all

Greece for destruction. Darius, therefore, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, sent Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, a young nobleman who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia; and, particularly, to revenge the burning of Sardis. This was an offence which that monarch seemed peculiarly to resent; and from the time of that conflagration, he had given orders for one of his attendants every time he sat down to table, to cry out, *remember the Athenians.*

Mardonius, willing to second his master's animosity, quickly passed into Thrace at the head of a large army, and so terrified the inhabitants of that country, that they yielded implicit obedience to his power. From thence he set sail for Macedonia, but his fleet attempting to double the Cape of Mount Athos, in order to gain the coasts of that country, were attacked by so violent a tempest, that upwards of three hundred ships were sunk, and above twenty thousand men perished in the sea. His land army, that took the longest way about, met, at the same time, with equal distresses. For being encamped in a place of no security, the Thracians attacked them by night, and made a great slaughter among the enemy. Mardonius himself was wounded, and finding his army

unable

unable to maintain the field, he returned to the Perſian court covered with grief and confuſion, having miſcarried both by ſea and land.

But the ill ſucceſs of one or two campaigns was not ſufficient to abate the reſentment, or the ardour of the king of Perſia. Poſſeſſed as he was of reſources almoſt inexhauſtible, wealth without end, and armies that ſeemed to increaſe from defeat, he only grew more determined from every repulſe, and doubled his preparations in proportion to his former failures. He now perceived that the youth and inexperience of Mardonius were unequal to ſo great an undertaking; he, therefore, diſplaced him, and appointed two generals, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, the ſon of him who was late governor of Sardis, in his ſtead. His thoughts were earneſtly bent on attacking Greece with all his forces; he wiſhed to take a ſignal revenge upon Athens, which he conſidered as the principal cauſe of the late revolt in Ionia: beſides, Hippias was ſtill near him to warm his ambition, and keep his reſentment alive. Greece, he ſaid, was now an object for ſuch a conqueror; the world had long beheld it with an eye of admiration, and if not ſoon humbled, it might in time ſupplant even Perſia in the homage of the world.

Thus excited by every motive of ambition and revenge, Darius refolved to bend all his attention to a war with Greece. He had in the beginning of his reign fent fpies with one Democedes, a Greek phyfician, as their conductor, to bring him information with refpect to the ftrength and fituation of all the ftates of Greece. This fecret deputation failed; he was, therefore, willing once more to fend men under the character of heralds, to denounce his refentment; and, at the fame time, to learn how the different ftates of the country ftood affected towards him. The form ufed by the Perfians, when they expected fubmiffion from leffer ftates, was to demand earth and water in the monarch's name, and fuch as refufed were to be confidered as oppofers of the Perfian power. On the arrival, therefore, of the heralds amongft the Greeks, many of the cities, dreading the Perfian power, complied with their demands. The Eginetans, with fome of the iflands alfo, yielded up a ready fubmiffion; and almoft all but Athens and Sparta, were contented to exchange their liberties for fafety.

But thefe two noble republics bravely difdained to acknowledge the Perfian power; they had felt the benefits of freedom, and were refolved to maintain it to the laft. Inftead therefore of offering up earth and water as demanded, they

threw

threw the heralds, the one into a well, the other into a ditch, and adding mockery to insult, desired them to take earth and water from thence. This they probably did to cut off all hopes of a reconciliation, and to leave no safety but in perseverance and despair.

Nor were the Athenians content with this outrage, but resolved also to punish the Eginetans, who, by a base submission to the Persian power, had betrayed the common cause of Greece. They accordingly represented the affair to the Spartans, with all its aggravating circumstances, and heightened with that eloquence for which they were famous. Before such judges, it was not likely that cowardice or timidity would find many defenders; the Spartans immediately gave judgment against the people of Ægina, and sent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of so base a concession. The people of Ægina, however, refused to deliver them, under pretence that Cleomenes came without his colleague. This colleague was Demaratus, who had himself secretly furnished them with that excuse. As soon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for thus counteracting the demands of his country, he endeavoured to get him deposed, as not being of the royal family. In fact, Demaratus was born only

seven

ſeven months after marriage, and this was ſuppoſed by many to be a ſufficient proof of his baſtardy. This accuſation, therefore, being revived, the Pythian oracle was appointed to determine the controverſy; and the prieſteſs being privately ſuborned by Cleomenes, an anſwer was given againſt his colleague juſt as he had dictated. Demaratus thus being illegitimate, and unable to endure ſo groſs an injury, baniſhed himſelf from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with great friendſhip, and gave him a conſiderable ſettlement in Perſia. He was ſucceeded in the throne by Leotychides, who concurring with the views of Cleomenes, puniſhed the Æginetans, by placing ten of their moſt guilty citizens in the hands of the Athenians; while Cleomenes, ſome time after, being detected of having ſuborned the prieſteſs, ſlew himſelf in a fit of deſpair.

On the other hand, the Æginetans complained of the ſeverity of their treatment; but finding no likelihood of redreſs, they reſolved to obtain that juſtice by force which was refuſed to their ſupplications. Accordingly, they intercepted an Athenian ſhip, which in purſuance of an annual cuſtom ever ſince the times of Theſeus, was going to Delos to offer ſacrifice. This produced a naval war between theſe two ſtates; in which, after a variety of fortunes, the Æginetans were worſted,

and

and the Athenians poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſovereignty of the ſeas. Thus thoſe civil diſcords, which ſeemed at firſt to favour the deſigns of the common enemy, turned out to the general advantage of Greece. For the Athenians thus acquiring great power at ſea, were put in a capacity of facing the Perſian fleets, and of cutting off thoſe ſupplies which were continually carrying to their armies by land.

In the mean time, the preparations on both ſides for a general war, were carried on with the greateſt animoſity and diſpatch. Darius ſent away his generals, Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed in the room of Mardonius, to what he ſuppoſed a certain conqueſt. They were furniſhed with a fleet of ſix hundred ſhips, and an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men; their inſtructions were, to give up Athens and Eretria, a little city which had joined in the league againſt him, to be plundered; to burn all the houſes and temples of both, and to lead away all the inhabitants into ſlavery. The country was to be laid deſolate, and the army was provided with a ſufficient ſupply of chains and fetters for binding the conquered nations.

To oppoſe this formidable invaſion, the Athenians had only their courage, their animoſity, their dread of ſlavery, their diſcipline, and about

ten

ten thousand men. Their civil commotions with the other ſtates of Greece had given them a ſpirit of war and ſtratagem, while the genius of their citizens, continually excited and exerciſed, was arrived at the higheſt pitch, and fitted them for every danger. Athens had long been refining in all thoſe arts which qualifies a ſtate to extend, or to enjoy conqueſt; every citizen was a ſtateſman and a general, and every ſoldier conſidered himſelf as one of the bulwarks of his country. But in this little ſtate, from whence firſt flowed all thoſe improvements that have ſince adorned and civilized ſociety, there was at that time three men who were conſidered as ſuperiors to all the reſt, all remarkable for their abilities in war, and their integrity in peace; for thoſe qualifications that are fitted to advance the glory of ſtates, or procure the happineſs of the individual.

Of theſe Miltiades, as being the moſt experienced, was at that time the moſt known. He was the ſon of Cimon, and nephew of Miltiades, an illuſtrious Athenian, who accepted the government of the Dolonci, a people of the Thraſian Cherſoneſus. Old Miltiades dying without iſſue, he was ſucceeded in his government by Steſagoras his nephew; and he alſo dying, young Miltiades was choſen as his ſucceſſor. He was appointed to that government the ſame year that Darius undertook

dertook his unſucceſsful expedition againſt the Scythians. He was obliged to attend that prince as far as the Iſter, with what ſhipping he was able to ſupply; but ever eager to throw off the Perſian yoke, it was he who adviſed the Ionians to deſtroy the bridge, and leave the army of Darius to its fate. When the affairs of the continent began to decline, Miltiades, rather than live in dependence, reſolved to return once more to Athens; and thither he returned with five ſhips, which were all that remained of his ſhattered fortunes.

At the ſame time, two other citizens, younger than Miltiades, began to diſtinguiſh themſelves at Athens, namely, Ariſtides and Themiſtocles. Theſe were of very different diſpoſitions; but from this difference reſulted the greateſt advantages to their country. Themiſtocles was naturally inclined to a popular government, and omitted nothing that could render him agreeable to the people, or gain him friends. His complaiſance was boundleſs, and his deſire to oblige, ſometimes out-ſtepped the bounds of duty. His partiality was often conſpicuous. Somebody talking with him once on the ſubject, told him he would make an excellent magiſtrate if he had more impartiality: *God forbid, replied he, that I ſhould ever ſit upon a tri-*

bunal where my friends should find no more favour than strangers.

Aristides was as remarkable for his justice and integrity. Being a favourer of aristocracy, in imitation of Lycurgus, he was friendly, but never at the expence of justice. In seeking honours, he ever declined the interests of his friends, lest they should, in turn, demand his interest when his duty was to be impartial. The love of the public good was the great spring of all his actions, and with that in view no difficulties could daunt, no success or elevation exalt him. On all occasions he preserved his usual calmness of temper, being persuaded that he was entirely his country's, and very little his own. One day when an actor was repeating some lines from Æschylus on the stage, coming to a passage which described a man as not desiring to appear honest, but to be so, the whole audience cast their eyes on Aristides, and applied the passage. In the administration of public offices, his whole aim was to perform his duty without any thought of enriching himself.

Such were the characters of the illustrious Athenians that led the councils of the state, when Darius turned his arms against Greece. These inspired their fellow-citizens with a noble confidence in the justice of their cause, and made all the

preparations

preparations against the coming invasion that prudence and deliberate valour could suggest. In the mean time, Datis and Artaphernes led on their numerous forces towards Europe; and after having made themselves masters of the islands in the Ægean sea without any opposition, they turned their course towards Eretria, that city which had formerly assisted the Ionians in their revolt. The Eretrians, now driven to the last extremity, saw no hopes of meeting the enemy in the field; wherefore they sent back four thousand men that the Athenians had supplied them with, and resolved patiently to stand a siege. For six days the Persians attempted to storm the city, and were repulsed with loss; but on the seventh, the city, by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants, being betrayed into their hands, they entered, plundered, and burned it. The inhabitants were put in chains, and sent as the first-fruits of war to the Persian monarch; but he, contrary to their expectation, treated them with great lenity, and gave them a village in the country of Cissa for their residence, where Apollonius Tyanæus found their descendants six hundred years after.

After such splendid success at Eretria, nothing now remained but the apparently easy conquest of Greece. Hippias, the expelled tyrant of Athens,

ſtill accompanied the Perſian army, and led them by the ſafeſt marches into the heart of the country; at length, fluſhed with victory, and certain of ſucceſs, he conducted them to the plains of Marathon, a fertile valley but ten miles diſtant from Athens. From thence they ſent to ſummon the citizens, acquainting them with the fate of Eretria, and informing them that not a ſingle inhabitant had eſcaped their vengeance. But the Athenians were not to be intimidated by any vicinity of danger. They had ſent indeed to Sparta to implore ſuccours againſt the common enemy, which were granted without deliberation; but the ſuperſtition of the times rendered their aſſiſtance ineffectual; for it was an eſtabliſhed law among the Spartans, not to begin a march before the full moon. They applied alſo to other ſtates, but they were too much awed by the power of Perſia to move in their defence. An army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, exulting in the midſt of their country, was too formidable for a weak and jealous confederacy to oppoſe. The inhabitants of Platea alone furniſhed them with a thouſand ſoldiers, and they were left to find all other aſſiſtance in their courage and their deſpair.

In this extremity they were obliged to arm their ſlaves for the ſafety of all; and their forces thus united, amount to but ten thouſand men. Hoping therefore

therefore to derive from their diſcipline what they wanted in power, they placed their whole army under the conduct of ten generals, of whom Miltiades was chief, and of theſe each was to have the command of the troops day about in regular ſucceſſion. An arrangement in itſelf ſo unpromiſing, was ſtill more embarraſſed by the generals themſelves diſputing whether they ſhould hazard a battle, or wait the approach of the enemy within the walls. The latter opinion ſeemed for a while to prevail; it was urged, that it would be raſhneſs itſelf to face ſo powerful and well appointed an army with an handful of men. It was alledged, that the ſoldiers would gather courage from their ſecurity behind their walls, and that the forces of Sparta without, might make a diverſion in caſe of a ſally from within. Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion, and ſhewed that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to ſtrike a terror into thoſe of the enemy, was, to advance boldly toward them with an air of confidence and deſperate intrepidity. Ariſtides alſo ſtrenuouſly embraced this opinion, and exerted all his maſculine eloquence to bring over the reſt. The queſtion being put, when the ſuffrages came to be taken, the opinions were equal on either ſide of the argument. It now therefore remained for Callimachus, the Po-

lemarch, who had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders, to give his opinion, and decide this important debate. It was to him Miltiades addressed himself with the utmost earnestness, alledging, that the fate of his country was now in his power; that his single vote was to determine whether his country should be enslaved or free; that his fame might now, by a single word, be made equal to that of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who were the authors of Athenian liberty. If, said he, we decline a battle, I foresee some great dissension will shake the fidelity of the army, and induce them to a compliance with the Medes: but if we fight before corruption insinuates itself into the hearts of the Athenians, we may hope, from the equity of the gods, to obtain the victory. Thus exhorted, Callimachus did not long debate, but gave his voice in favour of an open engagement; and Miltiades, thus seconded, prepared to marshal up his little army for the great encounter.

In the mean time it appeared, that so many leaders commanding in succession, only served to perplex and counteract each other. Aristides perceived that a command which changes every day, must be incapable of projecting any uniform design; he therefore gave it as his opinion, that it was necessary to invest the whole power in one

single

fingle perfon, and to induce his colleagues to conform, he himfelf fet the firft example of refignation. When the day came on which it was his turn to command, he refigned it to Miltiades as the more able and experienced general, while the other commanders, warmed by fo generous a preference followed his example.

Miltiades, thus vefted in the fupreme command, which was now the poft of higheft danger, like an experienced general, endeavoured, by the advantage of his ground, to make up for his deficiency in ftrength and numbers. He was fenfible, that by extending his front to oppofe the enemy, he muft weaken it too much, and give their denfe body the advantage. He therefore drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, fo that the enemy fhould not furround him or charge him in the rear. On the flanks on either fide he caufed large trees to be thrown, which were cut down for that purpofe, and thefe ferved to guard him from the Perfian cavalry, that generally wheeled on the flank in the heat of an engagement.

Datis, on his fide, was fenfible of this advantageous difpofition; but relying on his fuperiority of numbers, and unwilling to wait till the Spartan reinforcements fhould arrive, he determined to engage. And now was to be fought the firft great battle which the Greeks had ever engaged in.

in. It was not like any of their former civil contests, arising from jealousy, and terminating in an easy accommodation: it was a battle that was to be decided with the greatest monarch of the earth, with the most numerous army that had been hitherto seen in Europe. This was an engagement that was to decide the liberty of Greece, and, what was of infinitely greater moment, the future progress of refinement among mankind. Upon the event of this battle, depended the complexion which the manners of the West were hereafter to assume, whether they were to adopt Asiatic customs with their conquerors, or to go on in modelling themselves upon Grecian refinements, as was afterwards the case. This therefore may be considered as one of the most important battles that ever was fought, and the event was as little to be expected as the success was glorious.

The signal was no sooner given than the Athenians, without waiting the Persian onset, rushed in upon their ranks with desperate rapidity, as if wholly regardless of safety. The Persians regarded this first step of the Athenians as the result of madness, and were more inclined to despise them as maniacs, than oppose them as soldiers. However, they were quickly undeceived. It had never before been the custom of the Greeks to run on with this headlong valour; but comparing the number

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of their own forces with that of the enemy, and expecting safety only from rashness, they determined to break through the enemy's ranks, or fall in the attempt. The greatness of their danger added to their courage, and despair did the rest. The Persians, however, stood their ground with great intrepidity, and the battle was long, fierce, and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body more weak and not so deep; for having but ten thousand men to oppose to such a numerous army, he supposed the victory could be obtained by no other means than strengthening his flanks; not doubting but when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to wheel upon the enemy's main body on either side, and thus put them easily to the rout. The Persians, therefore, finding the main body weakest, attacked it with their utmost vigour. It was in vain that Aristides and Themistocles, who were stationed in this post of danger, endeavoured to keep their troops to the charge. Courage and intrepidity were unable to resist the torrent of increasing numbers, so that they were at last obliged to give ground. But in the mean time the wings were victorious; and now, just as the main body was fainting under the unequal encounter, these came up, and gave them time to recover their strength and order. Thus the scale

ſcale of victory quickly began to turn in their favour, and the Perſians, from being the aggreſſors, now began to give ground in turn; and being unſupported by freſh forces, they fled to their ſhips with the utmoſt precipitation. The confuſion and diſorder was now univerſal, the Athenians followed them to the beach, and ſet many of their ſhips on fire. On this occaſion it was that Cyndæyrus, the brother of the poet Æſchylus, ſeized with his hand one of the ſhips that the enemy was puſhing off from the ſhore. The Perſians within, ſeeing themſelves thus arreſted, cut off his right hand that held the prow; he then laid hold of it with his left; which they alſo cut off, at laſt he ſeized it with his teeth, and in that manner expired.

Seven of the enemy's ſhips were taken, above ſix thouſand Perſians were ſlain, without reckoning thoſe who were drowned in the ſea as they endeavoured to eſcape, or thoſe who were conſumed when the ſhips were ſet on fire. Of the Greeks not above two hundred men were killed, among whom was Callimachus, who gave his vote for bringing on the engagement. Hippias, who was the chief incendiary of the war, is thought to have fallen in this battle, though ſome ſay he eſcaped and died miſerably at Lemnos.

Such was the famous battle of Marathon, which the Perſians were ſo ſure of gaining, that they had

brought marble into the field in order to erect a trophy there. Just after the battle an Athenian soldier, whose name was Eucles, still covered all over with blood and wounds, quitted the army and ran to Athens, to carry his fellow-citizens the news of the victory. His strength just sufficed to reach the city, and throwing himself into the door of the first house he met, he uttered three words, *Rejoice, we triumph*, and instantly expired.

While a part of the army marched forward to Athens, to protect it from the attempts of the enemy, Aristides remained upon the field of battle to guard the spoil and the prisoners; and although gold and silver were scattered about the enemy's deserted camp in abundance, though their tents and gallies were full of rich furniture and sumptuous apparel, he would not permit any of it to be embezzled, but reserved it as a common reward for all who had any share in the victory. Two thousand Spartans also, whose laws would not permit them to march until the full of the moon, now came into the field; but the action being over the day before, they only had an opportunity of paying due honours to those who gained so glorious a victory, and to bring back the news to Sparta. Of the marble which the Persians had brought with them, the Athenians made a trophy, being carved by Phidias into a statue, in honour

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of the goddess Nemesis, who had a temple near the field of battle.

In the mean time, the Persian fleet, instead of sailing directly back to Asia, made an attempt to surprise Athens before the Greek forces could arrive from Marathon. But the latter had the precaution to move directly thither, and performed their march with so much expedition, that though it was forty miles from Marathon, they arrived there in one day. In this manner the Greeks not only repelled their enemies, but confirmed their security. By this victory the Grecians were taught to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy terrible only in name. This taught them through the whole of succeeding ages to imitate their ancestors with an ardent emulation, and inspired them with a wish of not degenerating from the Grecian glory. Those Athenians that were slain in battle, had all the honour immediately paid them that was due to their merit. Illustrious monuments were erected to them all in the very place where the battle was fought, upon which their names, and the tribe to which they belonged, were inscribed. There were three distinct sorts of monuments set up; one for the Athenians, one for the Platæans, and a third for the slaves who had been enrolled into their troops upon that urgent occasion.

But

But their gratitude to Miltiades ſpoke a nobleneſs of mind, that far ſurpaſſed expenſive triumphs, or baſe adulation. Senſible that his merits were too great for money to repay, they cauſed a picture to be painted by Polygnotus, one of their moſt celebrated artiſts, where Miltiades was repreſented at the head of the ten commanders exhorting the ſoldiers, and ſetting them an example of their duty. This picture was preſerved for many ages, with other paintings of the beſt maſters, in the portico where Zeno afterwards inſtituted his ſchool of philoſophy. An emulation ſeemed to take place in every rank of life; Polygnotus valued himſelf ſo much upon the honour of being appointed to paint this picture, that he gave his labour for nothing. In return for ſuch generoſity, the Amphyctions appointed him a public lodging in the city where he might reſide during pleaſure. A. M. 3514.

But though the gratitude of the Athenians to Militades was very ſincere, yet it was of no long continuance. This fickle and jealous people, naturally capricious, and now more than ever careful of preſerving their freedom, were willing to take every opportunity of mortifying a general, from whoſe merit they had much to fear. Being appointed with ſeventy ſhips to puniſh thoſe iſlands that had favoured the Perſian invaſion, he failed

to Paros. The reason he alledged for invading this island was, that the inhabitants had assisted the Persians with ships, in the expedition of Marathon; but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that one Lysagoras, a Parian, had done him ill offices with Hydarnes, the Persian. When he arrived on the island, he sent heralds to the capital, requiring an hundred talents to be paid to him; threatening, in case of refusal, to besiege the city; and, if he should take it, to give it up to be plundered by his soldiers. The Parians, however, were not to be terrified; they even refused to deliberate on his proposition, and prepared themselves for an obstinate defence. Miltiades caused the place to be invested, and carried on the siege with great vigour, till one Timo, a Parian woman, a priestess, pretended to inform him how he might take the city. In consequence of what this woman told him, he repaired to the temple of Ceres the lawgiver, and, not being able to open its gates, he climbed to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down. Being seized with a sudden tremor, and resolving to return, he re-ascended the wall; but his foot slipping he fell, and either broke his thigh-bone or dislocated his knee-pan. However, he was constrained to raise the siege, and to return wounded to Athens, where an unfortunate man was never welcome. The

whole

whole city began to murmur; and one Xanthippus accuſed him of having taken a bribe from Perſia. As he was not in a condition to anſwer this charge, being confined to his bed by the wound he received at Paros, the accuſation took place againſt him, and he was condemned to loſe his life. The manner of executing criminals found guilty of great offences, was, by throwing them into the Barathrum, a deep pit, from whence none were ever ſeen to return. This ſentence was pronounced againſt him, but his former ſervices were ſuch, as to have this puniſhment commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, the ſum which it had coſt the ſtate in fitting out the late unſucceſsful expedition. Not being rich enough to pay this ſum, he was thrown into priſon, where his wound growing worſe, from bad air and confinement, it turned at laſt to a gangrene, and put an end to his life and misfortunes.

Cimon, his ſon, who was at this time very young, ſignalized his piety on this occaſion. As this ungrateful city would not permit the body of Miltiades to be buried until all his debts were paid, this young man employed all his intereſt among his friends, and ſtrained his utmoſt credit to pay the fine, and procured his father's body an honourable interment.

Miltiades

Miltiades has very juſtly been praiſed for his condeſcenſion, moderation, and juſtice. To him Athens was indebted for all its glory; he being the man who firſt taught her to deſpiſe the empty menaces of the boaſtful Perſian king.

CHAP. VI.

From the Death of Miltiades, to the Retreat of Xerxes out of Greece.

THE misfortunes of Darius only ſerved to increaſe his reſentment, and give ſpirit to his perſeverance. Finding the ill ſucceſs of his generals, he reſolved to try the war in perſon, and diſpatched orders throughout his whole dominions for freſh preparations. However, a revolt in Egypt for a while averted his reſentment; a conteſt among his ſons about nominating his ſucceſſor, ſtill farther retarded his deſigns; and at laſt, when he had ſurmounted every obſtacle, and was juſt preparing to take a ſignal vengeance, his death put an end to all his projects, and gave Greece a longer time for preparation.

Xerxes, his ſon, ſucceeded, who, with the empire, inherited alſo his father's animoſity againſt Greece. Having carried on a ſucceſsful expedi-

tion against Egypt, he expected the same good fortune in Europe. Confident of victory, he did not chuse, he said, for the future, to buy the figs of Attica; he would possess himself of the country, and thus have figs of his own. But before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought proper to assemble his council, and collect the opinions of the principal officers of his court. In his speech at opening the council, he evidently shewed his desire of revenge, and his passion for military glory. The best way, therefore, to pay court to this young monarch, was by flattering him in his favourite pursuits, and giving his impetuous aims the air of studied designs. Mardonius, grown neither wiser nor less ambitious by his own bad success, began by extolling Xerxes above all other kings that had gone before. He urged the indispensible necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name; he represented the Greeks as cowards, that were accidentally successful; and was firmly of opinion, that they would never more stand even the hazard of a battle. A discourse that so nearly coincided with his own sentiments, was very pleasing to the young monarch, and the rest of the company by their looks, and their silence, seemed to applaud his impetuosity. But Artabanus, the king's uncle, who had long learned to reverence courage even

in an enemy, and presuming upon his age and experience, to speak his real sentiments, rose with an honest freedom to represent the intended expedition in its true light. "Permit me, sir, said "he, to deliver my sentiments upon this occasion, "with a liberty suitable to my age and your interest. When Darius, your father and my brother, first thought of making war against the "Scythians, I used all my endeavours to divert "him from it. The people you are going to attack, are infinitely more formidable than they. "If the Athenians alone could defeat the numerous army commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, what ought we to expect from an opposition "of all the states of Greece united? You design "to pass from Asia into Europe, by laying a "bridge over the sea. But what if the Athenians "should advance and destroy this bridge, and so "prevent our return? Let us not expose ourselves "to such dangers, as we have no sufficient motives to compel us to face them; at least let us "take time to reflect upon it. When we have "maturely deliberated upon an affair, whatever "happens to be the success of it, we have nothing to regret. Precipitation is imprudent, "and is usually unsuccessful. Above all, do not "suffer yourself, great prince, to be dazzled with "the splendor of imaginary glory. The highest

"and the most lofty trees have the most reason to "dread the thunder. God loves to humble the "ostentatious, and reserves to himself alone the "pride of importance. As for you, Mardonius, "who so earnestly urge this expedition, if it must "be so, lead it forward. But let the king, whose "life is dear to us all, return back to Persia. In "the mean time, let your children and mine be "given up as a pledge to answer for the success "of the war. If the issue be favourable, I con-"sent that mine be put to death; but if it be "otherwise, as I well foresee, then I desire that "you and your children may meet the reward of "rashness."

This advice, which was rather sincere than palatable, was received by Xerxes with a degree of rage and resentment. "Thank the Gods, cried "he, that thou art my father's brother; were it "not for that, thou shouldst this moment meet the "just reward of thy audacious behaviour. But "you shall have your punishment; remain here "behind among the women; these you but too "much resemble in your cowardice and fear. "Stay here, while I march at the head of my "troops where my duty and glory call me." Upon cooler thoughts, however, Xerxes seemed better reconciled to his uncle's opinion. When the first emotions of his anger were over, and he

had time to reflect on his pillow upon the different counsels that were given him, he confessed the rashness of his former rebuke, and ingenuously ascribed it to heat of youth and the ardour of passion. He offered to come over to his opinion, at the same time assuring the council, that from his dreams he had every encouragement to proceed with the expedition. So much condescension on the one hand, and such favourable omens on the other, determined the whole council to second his inclinations. They fell prostrate before him, eager to shew their submission and their joy. A monarch thus surrounded by flatterers, all striving which should most gratify his pride and passions, could not long continue good, though naturally inclined to virtue. Xerxes therefore seems a character thus ruined by power, exerting his natural justice and wisdom at short intervals, but then giving way to the most culpable and extravagant excesses. Thus the counsel of Artabanus being rejected, and that of Mardonius favourably received, the most extensive preparations were made for carrying on the war.

The greatness of these preparations, seemed to shew the high sense which the Persians had of their enemy. Xerxes, that he might omit nothing conducive to success, entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, who were, at that time, the

most potent people of the West; with whom it was stipulated, that while the Persian forces should attack Greece, the Carthaginians should awe the Greek colonies, dispersed over the Mediterranean, from coming to their assistance. Thus having drained all the East to compose his own army, and the West to supply that of the Carthaginians under Amilcar, he set out from Susa in order to enter upon this war, ten years after the battle of Marathon. A. M. 3523.

Sardis was the place where the various nations that were compelled to his banner, were to assemble. His fleet was to advance along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont. But as in doubling the cape of Mount Athos many ships were detained, he was resolved to cut a passage through that neck of land which joined the mountain to the continent, and thus gave his shipping a shorter and safer passage. This canal was a mile and a half long, and hollowed out from a high mountain; it required immense labour to perform so great a work, but his numbers and his ambition were sufficient to surmount all difficulties. To urge on the undertaking the faster, he treated his labourers with the greatest severity; while with all the ostentation of an eastern prince, he gave his commands to the mountain to sink before him: *Athos, thou proud aspiring mountain, that liftest up*

thy head unto the heavens, be not ſo audacious as to put obſtacles in my way. If thou giveſt them that oppoſition, I will cut thee level to the plain, and throw thee headlong into the ſea.

As this monarch paſſed on in his march to the place of general deſtination, he went through Cappadocia, croſſed the river Halys, and came to Calene, a city of Phrygia, near the ſource of the river Meander. He was there met by Pythias, a Lydian prince, who, by the moſt extreme parſimony and oppreſſion, had become, next to Xerxes, the moſt opulent man in all the Perſian empire. His treaſures, however, were not ſufficient to buy off the attendance of his eldeſt ſon, whom he requeſted might be permitted to remain with him, as he was old and helpleſs. He had before offered his money, which amounted to about four millions ſterling, for the monarch's uſe; but this Xerxes had refuſed; and now, finding the young prince willing to remain with his father, he was ſo enraged, that he commanded him to be put to death before his father's eyes. Then cauſing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part of it to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army paſs between them, to terrify them from a reluctance to engage by his example.

From

From Phrygia Xerxes marched to Sardis, and, in the opening of ſpring, directed his march down towards the Helleſpont, where his fleet lay in all their pomp, expecting his arrival. Here being arrived, he was deſirous of taking a ſurvey of all his forces, which compoſed an army which was never equalled either before or ſince. It was compoſed of the moſt powerful nations of the Eaſt, and of people ſcarce known to poſterity except by name. The remoteſt India contributed its ſupplies, while the coldeſt tracts of Scythia ſent their aſſiſtance. Medes, Perſians, Bactrians, Lydians, Aſſyrians, Hyrcanians, and an hundred other countries of various forms, complexions, languages, dreſſes, and arms. The land army which he brought out of Aſia, conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and fourſcore thouſand horſe. Three hundred thouſand more that were added upon croſſing the Helleſpont, made all his land forces together amount to above two millions of men. His fleet, when it ſet out from Aſia, conſiſted of twelve hundred and ſeven veſſels, each carrying two hundred men. The Europeans augmented his fleet with an hundred and twenty veſſels, each of which carried two hundred men. Beſides theſe there were a thouſand ſmaller veſſels, fitted for carrying proviſions and ſtores; the men contained in theſe, with the former, amounted to

ſix hundred thouſand; ſo that the whole army might be ſaid to amount to two millions and an half, which, with the women, ſlaves, and ſutlers, always accompanying a Perſian army, might make the whole above five millions of ſouls: a number, if rightly conducted, capable of overturning the greateſt monarchy; but being commanded by preſumption and ignorance, they only ſerved to obſtruct and embarraſs each other.

Lord of ſo many and ſuch various ſubjects, Xerxes found a pleaſure in reviewing his forces, and was deſirous of beholding a naval engagement, of which he had not hitherto been a ſpectator. To this end a throne was erected for him upon an eminence, and in that ſituation, beholding all the earth covered with his troops, and all the ſea crowded with his veſſels, he felt a ſecret joy diffuſe itſelf through his frame, from the conſciouſneſs of his own ſuperior power. But all the workings of this monarch's mind were in extreme: a ſudden ſadneſs ſoon took place of his pleaſure, and diſſolving in a ſhower of tears, he gave himſelf up to the reflection, that not one of ſo many thouſand would be alive a hundred years after.

Artabanes, who neglected no opportunity of moralizing upon every occurrence, took this occaſion to diſcourſe with him upon the ſhortneſs and miſeries of human life. Finding this more

diſtant

diſtant ſubject attended to, he ſpoke more cloſely to the preſent occaſion, inſinuated his doubts of the ſucceſs of the expedition; urged the many inconveniencies the army had to ſuffer, if not from the enemy, at leaſt from their own numbers. He alledged, that plagues, famine, and confuſion, were the neceſſary attendants of ſuch ungovernable multitudes by land, and that empty fame was the only reward of ſucceſs. But it was now too late to turn this young monarch from his purpoſe. Xerxes informed his monitor, that great actions were always attended with proportionable danger; and that if his predeceſſors had obſerved ſuch ſcrupulous and timorous rules of conduct, the Perſian empire would never have attained to its preſent height of glory.

Xerxes, in the mean time, had given orders for building a bridge of boats acroſs the Helleſpont, for the tranſporting his army into Europe. This narrow ſtrait, which now goes by the name of the Dardanelles, is near an Engliſh mile over. But ſoon after the completion of this work, a violent ſtorm ariſing, the whole was broken and deſtroyed, and the labour was to be undertaken anew. The fury of Xerxes upon this diſappointment, was attended with equal extravagance and cruelty. His vengeance knew no bounds; the workmen who had undertaken the taſk, had their heads ſtruck

off

off by his order; and that the sea itself also might know its duty, he ordered it to be lashed as a delinquent, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it to curb its future irregularities. Thus having given vent to his absurd resentment, two bridges were ordered to be built in the place of the former, one for the army to pass over, and the other for the baggage and the beasts of burthen. The workmen, now warned by the fate of their predecessors, undertook to give their labours greater stability; they placed three hundred and sixty vessels across the strait, some of them having three banks of oars, and others fifty oars a piece. They then cast large anchors into the water on both sides, in order to fix these vessels against the violence of the winds, and the current. They then drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings fastened to them, to which were tied six vast cables, which went over each of the two bridges. Over all these they laid trunks of trees, cut purposely for that use, and flat boats again over them, fastened and joined together, so as to serve for a floor or solid bottom. When the whole work was thus completed, a day was appointed for their passing over; and as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, sweet odours of all kinds were abundantly scattered over the new work, and the way was strewed with myrtle. At the same time

time Xerxes poured out libations into the ſea, and turning his face towards the Eaſt, worſhipped that bright luminary which is the god of the Perſians. Then, throwing the veſſel which had held his libation into the ſea, together with a golden cup and Perſian ſcimitar, he went forward, and gave orders for the army to follow. This immenſe train were no leſs than ſeven days and ſeven nights paſſing over, while thoſe who were appointed to conduct the march, quickened the troops by laſhing them along; for the ſoldiers of the Eaſt, at that time and to this very day, are treated like ſlaves.

Thus this immenſe army having landed in Europe, and being joined by the ſeveral European nations that acknowledged the Perſian power, Xerxes prepared for marching directly forward into Greece. Beſide the generals of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their reſpective countries, the land army was commanded by ſix Perſian generals, to whom all the reſt were ſubordinate. Theſe were Mardonius, Tirintatechmus, Smerdonus, Maſſiſtus, Gergis, and Megabyzus. Ten thouſand Perſians, who were called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydarnes, while the cavalry and the fleet had their own reſpective commanders. Beſide thoſe who were attached to Xerxes from principle, there were

were ſome Greek princes, who, either from motives of intereſt or fear, followed him in this expedition. Among theſe were Artemiſia, queen of Halicarnaſſus, who, after the death of her huſband, governed the kingdom for her ſon. She had brought indeed but the trifling ſuccour of five ſhips, but ſhe had made ample amends by her ſuperior prudence, courage, and conduct. Of this number alſo was Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, who, reſenting the indignity put upon him by his ſubjects, took refuge in the Perſian court, an indignant ſpectator of its luxuries and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion. Being one day aſked by Xerxes if he thought the Grecians would dare to await his approach, or would venture an engagement with armies that drank up whole rivers in their march. "Alas, great prince, cried Demaratus, Greece, from the beginning of time, has been trained up and accuſtomed to poverty; but the defects of that are amply recompenſed by virtue, which wiſdom cultivates, and the laws ſupport in vigour. As for the Lacedæmonians, as they have been bred up in freedom, they can never ſubmit to be ſlaves. Though all the reſt of the Greeks ſhould forſake them, though they ſhould be reduced to a band of a thouſand men, yet ſtill they would face every danger, to preſerve what they hold dearer than life. They have laws, which they obey with more implicit

implicit reverence than your subjects are obeyed by you. By these laws they are forbid to fly in battle, and they have only the alternative to conquer or die." Xerxes was not offended with the liberty of Demaratus, but, smiling at his blunt sincerity, ordered his army to march forward, while he had directed his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their course by his motions.

In this manner he pursued his course without any interruption; every nation near which he approached, sending him all the marks of homage and subjection. Wherever he came, he found provisions and refreshments prepared before-hand, pursuant to the orders he had given. Every city he arrived at, exhausted itself in giving him the most magnificent reception. The vast expence of these feasts, gave a poor Thracian an opportunity of remarking, that it was a peculiar favour of the gods, that Xerxes could eat but one meal a day. Thus did he continue his march through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, every knee bending before him till he came to the straits of Thermopylæ, where he first found an army prepared to dispute his passage.

This army was a body of Spartans, led on by Leonidas their king, who had been sent thither to oppose him. As soon as it was known in Greece that

that Xerxes was preparing to invade that country, and that an army of millions were coming on with determined resolution to ruin it, every state seemed differently affected in proportion to its strength, its courage, or its situation. The Sicilians refused their aid, being kept in awe by Amilcar the Carthaginian. The Corcyreans pretended that they were wind-bound, and would not let their ships stir from the harbour. The Cretans, having consulted the Delphic oracle, absolutely determined to remain inactive. The Thessalians and Macedonians, from their situation, were obliged to submit to the conqueror, so that no states were found bold enough to face this formidable army but Athens and Lacedæmon. These states had received intelligence of the Persian designs from Demaratus, long before they had been put into execution. They had also sent spies to Sardis, in order to have a more exact information of the number and quality of the enemy's forces. The spies indeed were seized, but Xerxes ordered them to be conducted through his army, and to give an exact account of what they had seen at their return. They had sent deputies to all the neighbouring states to awaken their ardour, to apprize them of their danger, and to urge the necessity of fighting for their common safety. But all their remonstrances were vain; fear, assuming the name

of

of prudence, offered frivolous excuſes, or terms which were inadmiſſible. Relying therefore on their own ſtrength, theſe generous ſtates reſolved to face the danger with joint forces, and conquer or fall in the cauſe of freedom. Having ſummoned a general council at the Iſthmus, they there ſolemnly reſolved to wave all private quarrels or pretenſions, and join againſt the common danger.

One cannot, without aſtoniſhment, reflect on the intrepidity of the Greeks, who determined to face the innumerable army of Xerxes with ſuch diſproportioned forces. All their forces joined together, amounted only to eleven thouſand two hundred men. But they were all ſoldiers, bred amidſt fatigue and danger, all determined to a man either to conquer or die. Their firſt care, however, was to appoint a general. It was then that the moſt able and experienced captains, terrified at the danger, had taken the reſolution of not preſenting themſelves as candidates. Epicydes indeed, a great orator, but a man of ignorance, avarice, and preſumption, was ready to lead them on; but under his guidance, nothing could be hoped for but confuſion and diſappointment. In this preſſing juncture, therefore, Themiſtocles, conſcious of his own capacity, and warmed with a love of glory, which was great in proportion to the danger, reſolved to uſe every art to get him-

felf appointed to the command. For this purpofe, he ufed all his intereft, and even diftributed bribes to remove his competitor; and having gratified the avarice of Epicydes, which was his ruling paffion, he foon found himfelf appointed to the command, which was the darling object of his ambition.

But in this preffing exigence, it was incumbent on the Athenians to avail themfelves of every perfon that might be serviceable, however obnoxious he might appear to their refentment. There were many ufeful citizens whom they had, upon fome factious difcontents, fent into banifhment, and thefe they now repentingly wifhed to reftore. Among this number was Ariftides, that brave and juft man, who had, at the battle of Marathon, and upon other occafions, been inftrumental in gaining their victories; and who had, upon all occafions, improved them by the difintereftednefs and integrity of his example. This magiftrate having had many contefts with Themiftocles, who was his rival in power and fame, and always wifhed to fupplant him, was at length condemned to go into banifhment by the power of his prevailing faction. It was on that occafion that a peafant, who could not write, and did not know Ariftides perfonally, applied to himfelf, and defired him to write the name of Ariftides upon the fhell by

which his vote was given against him. "Has he done you any wrong, said Aristides, that you are for condemning him in this manner." "*No, replied the peasant, but I hate to hear him praised for his justice.*" Aristides, without saying a word more, calmly took the shell, wrote down his name upon it, and contentedly retired into banishment. But the present distresses of his country were now an object that strongly solicited his return. Even Themistocles, his rival, was so far from remembering his old resentments, that he now ardently desired the assistance of his counsel, and gave up all his private resentments to the good of the state. The hatred of these great men had nothing in it of that bitter and implacable spirit, which prevailed among the Romans in the latter times of the republic, or perhaps the desperate situation of their country might only occupy their thoughts at that time.

But the preparations by land alone were not sufficient to repel the growing danger. If the Greeks had trusted to their land armies without further succour, they must have been undone. Themistocles, who saw that the victory of Marathon must be followed by many more before safety could be ascertained, had prudently caused an hundred gallies to be built, and turned all his thoughts to give Athens a superiority at sea. The

oracle had declared some time before, that Athens should only defend herself with wooden walls; and he took the advantage of that ambiguity to persuade his countrymen, that by such walls was only meant her shipping. He had the address to procure some money annually coming in from silver mines, which the Athenians had in their district, to the purposes of equipping and manning this fleet; and now, upon the approach of Xerxes, the confederates found themselves at the head of a very powerful squadron of two hundred and eighty sail, the command of which was conferred upon Eurybrades, a Lacedæmonian.

When the news came to Athens, that the Persians were on the point of invading Greece, and that to this end they were transporting their forces by sea, Themistocles advised his countrymen to quit their city, embark on board their gallies, and meet their enemies while they were yet at a distance. To this expedient they would by no means consent. He then put himself at the head of their army.

All measures being taken that this brave confederacy could devise, it next remained to settle in what place they should first meet the Persians in the field, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. The people of Thessaly represented, that as they were most exposed, and first liable to be

be attacked by the enemy, it was but reafonable that their fecurity fhould be the firft object of attention." The Greeks, willing to protect all who would declare in their quarrel, in purfuance of this requeft, refolved to fend their chief forces to guard the paffage which feparates Macedonia from Theffaly, near the river Peneus. But Alexander, the fon of Amyntas, reprefenting that poft as untenable, they were obliged to change their meafures, and at laft refolved to fend a body of men to guard the pafs at Thermopylæ, where a few were capable of acting againft numbers.

Thermopylæ was a narrow pafs of twenty-five feet broad, between Theffaly and Phocis, defended by the remains of a wall, with gates to it, formerly built by the Phocians, to fecure them againft the incurfions of their neighbouring enemy. From thefe gates, and fome hot baths, which were at the entrance into the pafs, the ftrait had its name. This was pitched upon, as well for the narrownefs of the way, as for its vicinity to the fea, from whence the land forces could occafionally receive affiftance from the fleet. The command of this important pafs was given to Leonidas, one of the kings of Sparta, who led thither a body of fix thoufand men. Of thefe, three hundred were Spartans, the reft confifting of Bœotians, Corinthians, Phocians, and Arcadians, all fuch as in

the present exigency were prepared for the field, and were not afraid of the numbers of the enemy. Each of these had particular commanders of their own, but Leonidas had the conduct of the whole. But though the determined resolution of these troops was incapable of being shaken, little was expected from the nature of their destination. They were all along taught to look upon themselves as a forlorn hope, only placed there to check the progress of the enemy, and give them a foretaste of the desperate valour of Greece; nor were even oracles wanting to check their ardour. It had been declared, that to procure the safety of Greece it was necessary that a king, one of the descendants of Hercules, should die. This task was chearfully undertaken by Leonidas; and, as he marched out from Lacedæmon, he considered himself as a willing victim offered up for the good of his country: however, he joyfully put himself at the head of his little band, took possession of his post, and with deliberate desperation waited at Thermopylæ for the coming up of the Persian army.

Xerxes, in the mean time, approached with his numerous army, flushed with success, and confident of victory. His camp exhibited all the marks of eastern magnificence and Asiatic luxury. He expected to meet no obstruction on

his

his way to Greece; he led on his forces rather to terrify the enemy than to fight them; great, therefore, was his surprize, to find that a few desperate men were determined to dispute his passage. He had all along flattered himself, that on the first hearing of his arrival, the Grecians would betake themselves to flight; nor could he ever be persuaded to believe what Demaratus had assured him, that at the first pass he came to, his whole army would be put to a stand. He himself took a view of their camp and entrenchments. The Lacedæmonians were some of them calmly amusing themselves with military exercises, others with combing their long hair. He enquired the reason of this conduct, and he was informed, that it was the Spartan manner of preparing themselves for battle. Still, however, entertaining some hopes of their flight, he waited four days to give them time to reflect on the greatness of their danger; but they still continued gay and unconcerned, as men who regarded death as the end of labour. He sent them to deliver up their arms. Leonidas, with truly Spartan contempt, desired him to *come and take them.* He offered, if they would lay down their arms, to receive them as friends, and to give them a country much larger and better than what they fought for. No country, they replied, was worth acceptance, unless won by vir-

tue; and that for their arms, they ſhould want them, whether as his friends or enemies. Upon this, the monarch addreſſed himſelf to Demaratus, aſking, if theſe deſperate men could expect to out-run his horſes? Damaratus anſwered, that they would fight it out to the laſt, and not a man of them would ſurvive his country's freedom. Some men were heard to ſay, that the Perſians were ſo numerous, that their darts would darken the ſun. Dieneces, a Spartan, replied, Then we ſhall fight in the ſhade.

Xerxes, thus treated with contempt, at length ordered a body of Medes to advance; deſiring ſuch as had loſt any of their relations at the battle of Marathon, to take their revenge upon the preſent occaſion. Accordingly they began the onſet, but were repulſed with great loſs. The number of the aſſailants only ſerved to increaſe their confuſion; and it now began to appear, that Xerxes had many followers, but few ſoldiers. Theſe forces being routed by the Grecian troops, the Perſian Immortal Band was brought up, conſiſting of ten thouſand men, to oppoſe them. But theſe were as unſucceſsful as the former. The charge was renewed the next day, Xerxes endeavouring to inſpire his troops with the promiſes of reward, ſince he found they were dead to the ſenſe of ſhame. But though their charge was

 violent,

violent, it was unſupported; and the Greeks ſtanding cloſely connected in a body, withſtood the ſhock, and filled the way with Perſian carcaſſes. During theſe unſucceſsful aſſaults, Xerxes was a ſpectator, ſitting upon his throne, placed upon an eminence, and directing the order of battle, impetuous in his pride and reſentment, and now and then ſeen to leap from his ſeat when he beheld his troops in confuſion, or offering to give way.

Thus did the Greeks keep their ground for two days, and no power on earth ſeemed capable of removing them from their advantageous ſituation. Xerxes, out of all hopes of being able to force a paſſage, appeared under the greateſt conſternation; but he was relieved from his embaraſſment by the appearance of Epialtes, a Trachinian, who had deſerted from the enemy, and undertook to ſhew his troops a ſecret path that led through the defiles of the mountains, and through which a body of forces might be led to fall upon the Grecians in the rear. He quickly, therefore, diſpatched a body of twenty thouſand men thither, who marching all night, arrived at the break of day at the top of the mountain, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that advantageous poſt.

The Greeks were ſoon apprized of this misfortune; and Leonidas, ſeeing that his poſt was no longer tenable, adviſed the troops of his allies to retire,

retire, and reserve themselves for better times, and the future safety of Greece. As for himself, and his fellow Spartans, they were obliged by their laws not to fly; that he owed a life to his country, and that it was now his duty to fall in its defence. Thus, having dismissed all, but his three hundred Spartans, with some Thespians and Thebans, in all not a thousand men, he exhorted his followers in the most chearful manner to prepare for death. Come, my fellow soldiers, says he, *let us dine chearfully here, for to-night we shall sup with Pluto.* His men, upon hearing his determined purpose, set up a loud shout, as if they had been invited to a banquet, and resolved every man to sell his life as dearly as he could. The night now began to advance, and this was thought the most glorious opportunity of meeting death in the enemy's camp, where the silence would favour desperation, and hide the smallness of their numbers. Thus resolved, they made directly to the Persian tents, and, in the darkness of the night, had almost reached the royal pavilion, with hopes of surprising the king. The obscurity added much to the horror of the scene; and the Persians, falling upon each other without distinction, rather assisted the Grecians than defended themselves. Thus, success seemed to crown the rashness of their enterprize, until the morning

beginning to dawn, the light difcovered the fmallnefs of their numbers. They were foon, therefore, furrounded by the Perfian forces, who, fearing to fall in upon them, flung their javelins from every quarter, till the Greeks, not fo much conquered, as tired with conquering, fell amidft heaps of the flaughtered enemy, leaving behind them an example of intrepidity never known before. Leonidas was one of the firft that fell, and the endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body were incredible. It was found after the battle, buried under a mountain of the dead, and was nailed to a crofs, by way of infamy, by the brutal victor. Of all the train, two only efcaped, whofe names were Ariftodemus and Panites. The latter, upon his return to Sparta, was branded with infamy, and treated with fuch contempt, that he killed himfelf. Ariftodemus referved himfelf for another occafion, and by his bravery at the battle of Platea, recovered that honour which he had loft. Some time after this tranfaction, the Amphyctions ordered a magnificent monument to be erected over thofe brave defenders of their country, and Simonides, the poet, wrote their epitaph.

Xerxes in this battle is faid to have loft twenty thoufand men, among whom were two of his brothers. But to conceal the greatnefs of his lofs from

from the army, he caused all but a thousand of those that were slain, to be buried in holes indiscriminately; however, this stratagem had very bad success, for when the soldiers of his fleet were curious some time after in taking a survey of the field of battle, they discovered the artifice, and urged it as an act of flagrant impiety against him.

Dismayed at an obstinacy in the enemy that cost him so dear, Xerxes was, for some time, more inclined to try his fortune at sea, than to proceed immediately into the country, where he had learned from Demaratus, that eight thousand Spartans, such as he had but lately fought with, were ready to receive him. Accordingly, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ, there was an engagement at sea between the two fleets. The Grecian fleet consisted of two hundred and seventy-one vessels. That of the enemy had lately lost four hundred vessels in a shipwreck, but was still greatly superior to the fleet of the Grecians. To repair this loss by a victory, two hundred Persian vessels had orders to take a compass and surprize the Grecians lying in the straits of Eubœa; but the Grecians being apprized of their designs, set sail by night, and so, by a counter-surprize, fell in with them while they were thus separated from their main squadron, took and sunk thirty, forced the rest to sea, and there, by stress of weather,

they

they were all soon after either sunk or stranded. Enraged at these disappointments, the Persians bore down the next day with their whole fleet, and drawing up in form of an half moon, made an offer of battle, which the Greeks as readily accepted. The Athenians, having been reinforced with three and fifty sail, the battle was very obstinate and bloody, and the success pretty nearly equal on both sides, so that both parties seemed content to retire in good order.

All these actions, which passed near Artemisa, though at that time indecisive, yet served not a little to animate and inspire the Athenians, who were now taught to think that there was nothing either formidable in the numbers, or useful in the size of the Persian ships. Thus strengthening themselves with the hopes of more splendid engagements, they sailed away from Artemisa and stopped at Salamis, where they might most conveniently assist the Athenians.

In the mean time, Xerxes, having entered with his numerous army into the country of Phocis, burning and plundering every town through which he passed. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were naturally defended by their inaccessible situation, as their country was joined to the continent only by a neck of land, thought it the most prudent way to defend the isthmus by a wall, to take shelter

ſhelter behind that rampart, and to leave the reſt of Greece to the mercy of the conqueror. The Athenians, however, whoſe country lay without the iſthmus, remonſtrated loudly againſt this deſertion, and endeavoured to perſuade the Greeks to face the enemy in the plain. But prudence prevailed, and Themiſtocles gave them to underſtand, that though their country ſhould be for a while overrun by the barbarous invader, yet they had ſtill their wooden walls to rely on, for their fleet was ready to tranſport them to ſuch of their ſettlements as they thought proper. At firſt, however, this advice was the moſt hateful that could be imagined. The people thought themſelves inevitably loſt if they ſhould once abandon the temples of their gods, and the tombs of their anceſtors. But Themiſtocles uſing all his eloquence and addreſs to work upon their paſſions, repreſented to them that Athens did not conſiſt either of its walls or its houſes, but of its citizens, and that the ſaving of theſe was the true preſervation of the ſtate. A decree therefore was paſſed, by which it was ordained, that Athens for a while ſhould be given up in truſt to the gods, and that all the inhabitants, whether in freedom or ſlavery, ſhould embark on board the fleet. When they began to prepare for this extraordinary embarkation, they had recourſe to the council of Areopagus, who, from funds to

us unknown, diſtributed eight drachmas to every man who went on board. In this calamitous deſertion Cimon, though very young, was ſeen encouraging the citizens by his words and example. Bearing in his hands a part of his horſe's furniture, he went to offer it as now uſeleſs in the temple of Minerva, and then going down to the water-ſide, was the firſt that cheerfully went on board. When he was followed by the reſt of the city, ſo moving and melancholy a ſight drew tears even from the moſt obdurate. A brave, generous, polite, and ancient people, now forced from their native ſeats, to undergo all the viciſſitudes and dangers of the ſea; to implore a retreat from foreign ſtates, and give up their native lands to the ſpoiler, was a moſt moving ſpectacle. Yet the ſteadineſs and courage of ſome, and the pious reſignation of all, demanded the utmoſt admiration. The young and adventurous embarked for Salamis, the old, the women, and children, took ſhelter at the city of Trezene, the inhabitants of which generouſly offered them an aſylum. They even allowed them a maintenance at the expence of the public, permitted their children to gather fruit wherever they pleaſed, and appointed maſters for their inſtruction. But in this general deſertion, that which extremely raiſed the compaſſion of all, was the great number of old men they were

obliged

obliged to leave in the city, on account of their age and infirmities. Many alfo voluntarily remained behind, believing that the citadel, which they had fortified with wooden ramparts, was what the oracle pointed out for general fecurity. To heighten this fcene of general diftrefs, the matrons were feen clinging with fond affection to the places in which they had fo long refided; the wives filled the ftreets with loud lamentations, and even the poor domeftic animals feemed to take a part in the general concern. It was impoffible to fee thofe poor creatures run howling and crying after their mafters, who were going on fhipboard, without being ftrongly affected. Among thefe, the faithfulnefs of a particular dog is recorded, who jumped into the fea after his mafter, and continued fwimming as near as he could to the veffel till he landed at Salamis, and died the moment after upon the fhore. Thofe few inhabitants that remained behind retired into the citadel, where, literally interpreting the oracle, they fortified it as well as they could, and patiently awaited the invader's approach.

Whilft Xerxes was continuing his march, he was told that the Grecians were employed in feeing the games and combats then celebrating at Olympia. It was not without indignation that he found his power fo little able to terrify his enemies,

mies, or interrupt their amusements. Having sent off a considerable detachment of his army to plunder the temple at Delphos, with the rest he marched down into Attica, where he found Athens deserted of all but a few in the citadel. These men despairing of succour, and unwilling to survive the loss of their country, would listen to no terms of accommodation; they boldly withstood the first assault, and, warmed by the enthusiasm of religion, began to hope for success. But a second assault carried their feeble out-works, they were all put to the sword, and the citadel reduced to ashes. Flushed with this success, Xerxes dispatched a messenger to Susa with the news of his victories, and, at the same time, sent home a great number of pictures and statues, among which were those of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

In the mean time, the confederate Greeks summoned a council of war, to consult upon the proper manner and place of opposing this barbarous inundation. With respect to the operations by land, it was universally determined to defend the isthmus by a wall, and Cleombrotus, the brother of Leonidas, was appointed to command that station; but as to the operations at sea, these were not so generally agreed on. Eurybiades the Spartan, who was appointed to the command of the fleet, was for having it advance near the isthmus,

that

that it might co-operate with the army at land; but Themiſtocles was entirely of another opinion, and aſſerted, that it would be the moſt manifeſt error to abandon ſo advantageous a poſt as that of Salamis, where they were then ſtationed. They were now, he ſaid, in poſſeſſion of the narrow ſeas, where the number of the enemy could never avail them; that the only hope now left the Athenians was their fleet, and that this muſt not be capriciouſly given up by ignorance to the enemy. Eurybiades, who conſidered himſelf as glanced at, could not contain his reſentment, but offered to ſtrike Themiſtocles for his inſolence. *Strike me*, cried the Athenian, *ſtrike me, but hear me.* His moderation and his reaſoning prevailed; the generals were reconciled to each other, and the reſult of the council was, that they ſhould prepare to receive the Perſians on the iſthmus by land, and in the ſtraits of Salamis by ſea.

Meanwhile Xerxes, after having demoliſhed and burnt Athens, marched down toward the ſea, to act in conjunction with his fleet, which he had determined ſhould once more come to an engagement with the enemy. This was what Themiſtocles moſt ardently deſired in his preſent ſituation; but he was fearful his confederates would not have courage to abide the encounter. Their thoughts were ſtill bent upon ſailing towards the iſthmus,

and

and aſſiſting their army in caſe of diſtreſs. Themiſtocles, therefore, in this exigence, was obliged to have recourſe to one of thoſe ſtratagems which mark ſuperiority of genius; he contrived to let Xerxes privately underſtand, that the confederates were now aſſembled at Salamis preparing for flight, and that it would be an eaſy taſk to attack and deſtroy them. This information was attended with the deſired ſucceſs. Xerxes gave orders to his fleet to ſurround Salamis by night, in order to prevent an eſcape which he ſo much dreaded.

In this manner the Grecian fleet was blocked up, and no ſafety remained but in intrepidity and conqueſt. Even Themiſtocles himſelf was not apprized of the ſituation of his own forces and that of the enemy, all the narrow ſtraits were blocked up, and the reſt of the Perſian fleet was ſent for, to make every paſſage impracticable. In this exigence Ariſtides, in whoſe boſom the love of his country always prevailed over every private revenge, was reſolved to venture all, in order to apprize Themiſtocles of his ſituation and danger. He was then at Egina, where he had ſome forces under his command, and with very great danger ventured in a ſmall boat through all the fleet of the enemy's by night. Upon landing he made up to the tent of Themiſtocles, and addreſſed him in the following manner: "If we are wiſe, The-

"mistocles, we shall henceforth lay aside those "vain and puerile dissensions which have hitherto "separated us. One strife, and a noble emulation it is, now remains for us, which of us shall "be most serviceable to our country. It is your's "to command as a general, it is mine to obey as "a subject; and happy shall I be, if my advice "can any way contribute to your and my country's glory." He then informed him of the fleet's real situation, and warmly exhorted him to give battle without delay. Themistocles felt all that generous gratitude which so disinterested a conduct demanded, and, eager to shew a return of noble friendship, let him into all his projects and aims, particularly this last, of suffering himself to be surrounded. After this they used their joint authority with the other commanders to persuade them to engage, and accordingly both fleets prepared themselves for battle.

The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty ships, the Persian fleet was much more numerous. But whatever advantage they had in numbers, and the size of their ships, they fell infinitely short of the Greeks in their naval skill, and their acquaintance with the seas where they fought; but it was particularly in their commander that the Greeks had the advantage. Eurybiades had nominally the conduct of the fleet, but

Themistocles

Themistocles in reality conducted all their operations. Nothing escaped his vigilance, and he knew how to improve every incident to the greatest advantage. He, therefore, deferred the onset until a wind, which at that time of the year was periodical, and which he knew would be favourable, should set in. As soon as this arose, the signal was given for battle, and the Grecian fleet sailed forward in exact order.

Xerxes imputing his former ill success at sea to his own absence, was resolved to be a witness of the present engagement from the top of a promontory, where he caused a throne to be erected for that purpose. This served in some measure to animate his forces, who, conscious of their king's observance of them, resolved to merit his applause. The Persians, therefore, advanced with such courage and impetuosity, as struck the enemy with terror, but their ardour abated when the engagement became closer. The numerous disadvantages of their circumstances and situation then began to appear. The wind blew directly in their faces; the height and heaviness of their vessels rendered them unwieldy and useless; even the number of their ships in the narrow sea where they fought, only served to embarrass and increase their confusion. The Ionians, whom Themistocles had implored, by characters engraven along

the rocks of their coaſt, to remember from whence they derived their original, were the firſt who betook themſelves to flight. In the other wing the conteſt was for ſome time doubtful, until the Phœnicians and Cyprians being driven on ſhore, the reſt retired in great diſorder, and fell foul of each other in their retreat. In this total defection, Artemiſa alone ſeemed to ſtop the progreſs of victory; and, at the head of her five ſhips, performed incredible acts of valour. Xerxes, who was a ſpectator of her conduct, could not help crying out, that his ſoldiers behaved like women in the conflict, and the women like ſoldiers. As this queen, from her ſignal intrepidity, was become very obnoxious to the Athenians, a price was ſet upon her head; ſenſible of which, as ſhe was upon the point of falling into their hands, by a lucky turn of thought, ſhe pretended to deſert from her own party, and to fall foul of one of their ſhips; the Greeks thus concluding, that ſhe either belonged to them, or was a deſerter, permitted her to eſcape. In the mean time, the confederates purſued the Perſian fleet on every ſide; ſome were intercepted at the ſtraits of Attica, many were ſunk, and more taken. Above two hundred were burnt, all the reſt were diſperſed; and the allies dreading the reſentment of the Greeks, as

well

well as of the Perſian king, made the beſt of their way to their own country.

Such was the ſucceſs of the battle of Salamis, in which the Perſians had received a ſeverer blow than they had ever hitherto experienced from Greece. Themiſtocles, in a ſecret converſation with Ariſtides, was, or pretended to be ſo elated, as to propoſe breaking down the bridge by which Xerxes had made his way into Europe. Whether Themiſtocles was really ſincere in the propoſal, remains a doubt; but Ariſtides uſed all his powers to diſſuade his coadjutor from ſuch an undertaking. He repreſented to him the danger of reducing ſo powerful an enemy to deſperation, and aſſerted, that it was his wiſh to be relieved from ſuch an uſurper with all poſſible diſpatch. Themiſtocles at once acquieſced in his reaſons; and, in order to haſten the king's departure, contrived to have him ſecretly informed, that the Grecians deſigned to break down the bridge.

The ſituation of Xerxes was ſuch, that the ſmalleſt repulſe was now ſufficient to wean him from his darling expedition. Aſtoniſhed at the late overthrow, and alarmed at this new information, he only wanted a decent pretext for retreating, when Mardonius came conveniently to extricate him from his embarraſſments. He began by extenuating the late loſs, and the many expedients

that remained to relieve their ſituation; he laid all the blame of their defeat upon the cowardice of the auxiliaries, and their inſincere attachment to his cauſe. He adviſed him to return ſpeedily to his kingdom, leſt his ill ſucceſs, and fame, which always repreſents things worſe than they are, ſhould occaſion any commotions in his abſence. He engaged, if he would leave him three hundred thouſand of his choice troops, to ſubdue all Greece with glory. On the other hand, if the event proved otherwiſe, he would take all the blame of miſcarriage, and ſuffer in perſon, if it were to retrieve the honour of his maſter. This advice was very well received by Xerxes, who, thinking enough had been given to glory, when he had made himſelf maſter of Athens, prepared to return to Perſia at the head of a part of his army, leaving the other part of it with Mardonius, not ſo much with the hope of reducing Greece, as through the fear of being purſued.

Theſe reſolutions were communicated in a council held ſoon after the fight, and the night following the fleet ſet ſail in great confuſion towards the Helleſpont, and took up their winter-quarters at Cuma. The king himſelf, leaving his generals to take care of the army, haſtened with a ſmall retinue to the ſea-ſide, which he reached forty-five days after the battle of Salamis. When he

arrived

arrived at that place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, in a tempest that had lately happened. He was, therefore, obliged to pass the strait in a small boat; which manner of returning, being compared to the ostentatious method in which he had set out, rendered his disgrace still more poignant and afflicting. The army which he had ordered to follow him, having been unprovided with provisions, suffered great hardships by the way. After having consumed all the corn they could find, they were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. Thus harassed and fatigued, a pestilence began to complete their misery; and, after a fatiguing journey of forty-five days, in which they were pursued rather by vultures and beasts of prey, than by men, they came to the Hellespont, where they crossed over. They marched from thence to Sardis. Such was the end of Xerxes's expedition into Greece. A measure begun in pride, and terminated in infamy. It is to be observed, however, that we have all this account from the Greek writers only, who no doubt have been partial to their countrymen. I am told, that the Persian historians represent this expedition in a very different light, and say, that the king was recalled in the midst of his successes, to quell an insurrection at home. Be this as it

will, the affairs of Perſia ſeemed after that to go backward, until the time when Alexander led a conquering army of Greeks to invade them in turn.

CHAP. VII.

From the Retreat of Xerxes, to the Peace concluded between the Greeks and Persians.

A. M. 3524.

THE firſt object the Greeks attended to after the battle of Salamis, was to ſend the firſt-fruits of the rich ſpoil they had taken from the Perſians to Delphos. Conſidered in a confederated light, they were ever attentive to the duties of religion; and though their ſects and opinions in philoſophy, taught mankind to entertain but very mean ideas of the objects of public worſhip, yet it was religion that formed their bond of union, and for a while held them feebly together. When that bond came to be broken, and the council of the Amphictyons became rather a political than a religious aſſembly, the general union no longer prevailed, and the different ſtates fell a ſacrifice to their own contentions.

The

The joy of the Greeks upon this victory was general and loud; every commander had his ſhare of honour, but the glory of Themiſtocles eclipſed that of all the reſt. It was a cuſtom in Greece, that after a battle the commanding officers ſhould declare who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt, by writing the names of ſuch as merited the firſt and ſecond rewards. On this occaſion, each officer concerned adjudged the firſt rank to himſelf, but all allowed the ſecond to Themiſtocles, which was, in fact, allowing him a tacit ſuperiority. This was farther confirmed by the Lacedæmonians, who carried him in triumph to Sparta; and who having adjudged the reward of valour to their own countryman, Eurybiades, adjudged that of wiſdom to Themiſtocles. They crowned him with olive, preſented him with a rich chariot, and conducted him with three hundred horſe to the confines of their ſtate. But there was an homage paid him that flattered his pride yet more: when he appeared at the Olympic games, the ſpectators received him with uncommon acclamations. As ſoon as he appeared, the whole aſſembly roſe up to do him honour: nobody regarded either the games or the combatants, Themiſtocles was the only ſpectacle worth their attention. Struck with ſuch flattering honours, he could not help obſerving, that he that day reaped the fruits of all his labours.

After

After the Grecians were returned from pursuing the Persian fleet, Themistocles sailed to all the islands that had espoused their interests, in order to levy contributions. The first he applied to was that of Andros, from whose inhabitants he required a considerable sum. *I come*, said he, *to you accompanied by two very powerful divinities, Persuasion and Necessity. Alas!* replied they, *we also have divinities on our side, Poverty and Impossibility.* In consequence of this reply, he blocked them up for some time, but finding them too well fortified, he was obliged to retire. Some other islands, however, were neither furnished with so much reason nor so much power. He exacted large sums from all such as were incapable of opposition; and these contributions he chiefly converted to his own private advantage; thus shewing in his own character two very oddly assorted qualities, avarice and a love of fame.

Mardonius, who remained in Greece with a body of three hundred thousand men, passed the winter in Thessaly; and, in the beginning of spring, led them down into the province of Bœotia. From thence he sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, with a splendid retinue to Athens, to make proposals for an accommodation, and to endeavour to make them separate their interests from the general cause of Greece. He offered

to rebuild their city, to give them a considerable sum of money, to suffer them to enjoy their laws and constitution, and to give them the government of all Greece. The Spartans, alarmed at this alluring offer, dispatched a messenger to Athens, who was instructed to say, that they hoped the Athenians entertained juster notions of true glory and patriotism; that they held the common danger, by which the various states of Greece were bound to give mutual aid to each other, as of a more urgent nature; and, at least, that they had a greater reverence for the memory of their illustrious ancestors, than to sacrifice those whom they had so gallantly defended and delivered, by acceding to the infamous terms which had been proposed. That the Athenians might not hold up necessity, as a plea for their complying, the Spartans generously offered to maintain their wives and children at their own expence, and in their own city. Aristides was at that time in the highest office, being principal archon at Athens. It was in his presence that the king of Macedon made his proposals, and that the deputies from the other states of Greece endeavoured to avert the force of them. But Aristides wanted no prompter, but the natural dictates of his own heart to give them an answer. "To men, said he, bred up to plea-"sure and ignorance, it is natural to proffer great "rewards,

rewards, and to hope by bribes to buy off virtue. Barbarians, who make silver and gold the chief objects of their esteem, may be excused for thinking to corrupt the fidelity of a people; but that the Lacedæmonians, who came to remonstrate against these offers, should suppose they could prevail, was indeed surprising. The Athenians have the common liberty of Greece intrusted to their care, and mountains of gold are not able to shake their fidelity. No, so long as that sun which the Persians adore, continues to shine with wonted splendor, so long shall the Athenians be mortal enemies to the Persians, so long shall they continue to pursue them for ravaging their lands, for burning their houses, and polluting their temples: such is the answer we return to the Persian proposal; and you," continued he, addressing himself to Alexander, "if you are truly their friend, refrain for the future from being the bearer of such proposals, your honour, and perhaps even your safety demands it."

The treaty being thus broke up, Mardonius prepared to act with vigour, and invaded Attica, which the Athenians were once more obliged to desert and leave to his fury. He entered Athens, ten months after it had been taken by Xerxes, the inhabitants having again conveyed themselves to Salamis, and other neighbouring places. In

that

that ſtate of exile and want, they cont con-tented with all their ſufferings, ſince repaid by freedom. Even Lycidas, a ſenator, who attempted to propoſe a ſubmiſſion, was ſtoned to death; while his wife and children met with the ſame fate from the women, ſo ſtrong was the averſion which the Athenians had conceived againſt all communications with Perſia.

In the mean time, the Spartans, whoſe duty it was to co-operate with the Athenians with equal ardour, unmindful of the general cauſe, only thought of making preparations for their own ſecurity, and reſolved to fortify the Iſthmus, in order to hinder the enemy from entering into Peloponneſus. This the Athenians conſidered as a baſe and ungrateful defection, and ſent deputies to remonſtrate againſt the Spartan conduct. Theſe had orders to ſay, that if Sparta ſhould perſiſt in its partial method of ſeeking ſecurity, the Athenians would follow their example; and, inſtead of ſuffering all for Greece, would turn with their fleet to the Perſians, who being thus maſters of the ſea, could invade the territory of Sparta whenever they ſhould think proper. Theſe menaces had ſo good an effect, that five thouſand men were privately diſpatched, each attended with ſeven Helotes, and were actually upon their march be-

fore [illegible] artans gave the Athenian deputies any answer.

Mardonius at this time had left Attica, and was on his return to the country of Bœotia, where he resolved to await the approach of the enemy, as he could there draw up his forces with greater ease than in the hilly parts of Attica, where a few might be opposed to numbers with greater success. He encamped by the river Asopus, along the banks of which his army extended, consisting of three hundred thousand fighting men.

Great as this army was, the Greeks, with much inferior forces, resolved to meet it in the field. Their forces were by this time assembled, and amounted to seventy thousand men. Of these, five thousand were Spartans, attended by thirty-five thousand Helotes. The Athenians amounted to eight thousand, and the troops of the allies made up the remainder. In the right wing of this army the Spartans were placed, commanded by Cleombrotus; in the left wing the Athenians, with Aristides at their head. In this order they followed Mardonius into Bœotia, determined on trying the fate of a battle, and encamped at no great distance from them, at the foot of Mount Cythæron. Here they continued for some time, awaiting in dreadful suspense a battle that was to determine the fate of Greece. Some skirmishing

between

between the Persian cavalry and the w[illegible] Grecian army, in which the latter were succe[illegible] seemed to give a presage of future victory; which, however, for ten days neither side seemed willing to strike for.

While the two armies were thus opposed, waiting the most favourable opportunity of engaging, the Greeks, by their mutual dissensions, were on the point of losing their freedom in satisfying their mutual jealousy. The first dispute that arose in the army, was begun by the Tegeans, who contended with the Athenians upon the point of precedence. They willingly allowed the Spartans the command of the right wing, as they constantly had it; but they insisted on having the left, alledging, that they had earned it by former acts of valour and well known success. The dispute ran high, a mutinous disposition began to prevail in all parts of the army, and the enemy were likely to become victorious without a blow. In this general spirit of dissension, Aristides only appeared unmoved. Long noted for his impartiality and justice, all parties fixed their eyes upon him as the only person from whom they could expect a pacification. Wherefore, turning himself to the Spartans, and some of the rest of the confederates, he addressed them in the following manner. "It is not now a time, my friends, to dispute of the merit

services, for all boasting is vain in the day of danger. Let it be the brave man's pride to own, that it is not the post or station which gives courage, or which can take it away. I head the Athenians; whatever post you shall assign us we will maintain it, and will endeavour to make our station, wherever we are placed, the post of true honour and military glory. We are come hither not to contend with our friends, but to fight with our enemies; not to boast of our ancestors, but to imitate them. This battle will distinguish the merit of each city, each commander; and the lowest centinel will share the honour of the day." This speech determined the council of war in favour of the Athenians, who, thereupon, were allowed to maintain their former station.

A fatal conspiracy in the midst of the Athenians, threatened consequences still more dangerous, because they were unseen. Some of the best and richest families, who had wasted their fortunes in the war, and lost their credit in the city, entered into a conspiracy to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Persians. Aristides, however, still watchful in the service of the state, was early informed of their machinations, and instantly laid their schemes before the general council. Notwithstanding, he was contented with having eight of the conspirators arrested; and of these, two

only

only were reserved for trial. Yet his lenity, or, to call it by a truer name, his prudence, would not permit him to act rigorously even against these; as he knew that severity in times of general danger would but depress the ardour of the army, he permitted them to escape, and thus sacrificed public justice to public security.

Both armies had now continued for ten days in sight of each other, in anxious expectation of an engagement, both willing to begin, yet both afraid to strike; as the aggressor was to engage at a disadvantage. But Mardonius being naturally of an impatient, fiery disposition, grew very uneasy at so long a delay. Besides, he had only a few provisions left for his army, and the Grecians grew every day stronger by the addition of fresh supplies. He, therefore, called a council of war, to deliberate whether he should give battle. Artabazus, a person of singular merit and great experience, was of opinion that they should not hazard a battle, but that they should retire under the walls of Thebes; while the enemy, formed of various troops, and subject to different leaders, would destroy each other by their various dissensions, or might be partly corrupted to give up the common cause. This opinion was the most reasonable, but Mardonius, spurred on by his natural impetuosity, and wearied with a protracted war, resolved to en-

gage, nor had the reſt courage to contradict his reſolution. The reſult, therefore, was, that they ſhould give battle the next day.

This being reſolved on the ſide of Perſia, the Greeks were not leſs prepared for the engagement; for they had been ſecretly apprized the night before, by Alexander king of Macedon, of the reſult of the Perſian councils. Pauſanias, therefore, the commander in chief, gave orders to his army to prepare themſelves for battle; and drawing up his forces, placed the Athenians on the right, as being better acquainted with the Perſian manner of fighting, and fluſhed with former ſucceſs. Whether it was fear or prudence that ſuggeſted this change to the general, the Athenians took the poſt of honour with exultation; nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to bravery, and a ſteady reſolution to conquer or fall. But Mardonius hearing of this alteration in the diſpoſition of the Grecian army, made an alteration alſo in his own. This alſo once more produced a change in the diſpoſition of the Greeks; by this changing and rechanging the order of battle, nothing farther was done for that day.

At night the Greeks held a council of war, in which it was reſolved, that they ſhould decamp from their preſent ſituation, and march to another, more conveniently ſituated for water. As their removal

removal was performed in the night, much diforder enfued; and in the morning, Mardonius perceiving them fcattered over the plain, he fuppofed that they were flying, rather than retreating; he, therefore, refolved to purfue with his whole army. The Greeks perceiving his defign, foon collected their fcattered forces, which the darknefs had difperfed; but not intimidated, and halting near the little city of Platæa, there determined to await the fhock of their purfuers. The barbarian forces foon came up to the engagement with their accuftomed howling, expecting rather to plunder than to fight. The Lacedæmonians, who clofed up the rear of the Grecian army, were the firft who fupported the fhock of the affailants. They were in fome meafure feparated from the reft of the army by the obftinacy of one of their own regiments, who confidered their retreat as contrary to the idea of Spartan difcipline; but ftill confifting of a formidable body of men, they were in a capacity of making head againft the invaders. Collecting themfelves, therefore, into a phalanx, they ftood impenetrable and immoveable to all the affaults of the enemy.

In the mean time, the Athenian troops, who were apprized of the attack, quickly turned back, in order to affift their allies; but the Greeks who were in Perfian pay, to the number of five thou-

ſand, intercepted their return. Thus the battle was divided into two, and fought with great ardour in various parts of the field. But nothing could reſiſt the weight of the Spartan phalanx, who after ſome time, broke in upon the Perſian forces, and put them into diſorder. In this tumult, Mardonius attempting to reſtore the order of battle, and ruſhing into the midſt of the carnage, was killed by Aimneſtus, a Spartan; and ſoon after all his army betook themſelves to flight. The other Greek troops ſoon followed the brave example ſet them by Sparta, and the rout became general. Artabazus, who commanded a body of forty thouſand Perſians, fled with them towards the Helleſpont, while the reſt fortified themſelves in their camp with wooden ramparts. There they were attacked by the Spartans, who were not well ſkilled in that part of war; but the Athenians ſoon came up to their aſſiſtance, and eaſily effected a breach in this haſty rampart. It was then that the ſlaughter of the enemy was indiſcriminate and terrible. Of all the Perſian army that had taken refuge there, not four thouſand men eſcaped. Above an hundred thouſand men were put to the ſword; and the conquerors, willing to rid their country at once of their terrible invaders, refuſed to give quarter. Thus ended the Perſian invaſions

of

of Greece, nor ever after was the Persian army ſeen to croſs the Helleſpont.

The carnage being at laſt over, the Greeks buried their dead, which at moſt did not amount to ten thouſand men; and ſoon after, as a teſtimony of their gratitude to heaven, they cauſed a ſtatue of Jupiter to be made at the general expence, which they placed in his temple at Olympia. It was now that the firſt funeral games and funeral orations were invented. They were meant to ſerve not only as monuments of honour to the dead, but as incitements to glory to the living. The names of the ſeveral nations of Greece that were preſent in the engagement, were engraven on the right ſide of the pedeſtal of the ſtatue that was dedicated to Jupiter; the Spartans firſt, the Athenians next, and all the reſt in order.

While ſucceſs attended the Grecian arms by land, they were not leſs fortunate at ſea. The greateſt part of the Perſian fleet, after the defeat at Salamis, wintered at Cumæ, and in the ſpring moved to Samos, both to guard and awe the coaſts of Aſia. The Grecians, in the mean while, were refitting their ſhips at Ægina, and being importuned by the Samians, they put to ſea under the conduct of Leotichydes, the Spartan, and Xanthippus, the Athenian. The Perſians, apprized of their approach, and having long experienced

their own inferiority, would not venture to oppose them at sea; but drew up their ships upon land at Mycale, a promontory of Ionia, where they fortified them with a wall and a deep trench, while they were also protected by an army of sixty thousand foot, under the command of Tigranes. This, however, did not deter the Greeks from venturing to attack them. Leotichydes having endeavoured to make the Ionians revolt, landed his forces, and the next day prepared for the assault. He drew up his army in two bodies; the one consisting chiefly of Athenians and Corinthians, kept the plain, whilst the other of Lacedæmonians, marched over the hills and precipices, to gain the highest ground. The battle being joined, great courage and resolution was shewn on both sides, and the fortune of the day continued for a long time in suspense. The defection of the Greek auxiliaries in the Persian army, turned the fate of the battle; the Persians were soon routed, and pursued with great slaughter to their very tents. The Athenians had made themselves masters of the field before the Lacedæmonians could come up to their assistance, so that all the share these had in the action, was to disperse some Persian troops which were attempting to make a regular retreat, soon after their ramparts were forced, and all their vessels burnt: so that

nothing

nothing could be more complete than the victory at Mycale. Tigranes, the Perſian general, and forty thouſand men of his army, lay dead on the field of battle; the fleet was deſtroyed; and of the great army brought into Europe by Xerxes, ſcarce one man remained to carry back the tidings.

The battle of Platæa was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the evening of the ſame day. But what is very extraordinary, it is univerſally affirmed, that the victory of Platæa was known at Mycale before the battle begun, though it is a paſſage of ſeveral days from one place to the other. It is moſt probable, that Leotichydes framed the report to encourage his army, and incite them to emulate their aſſociates in the cauſe of freedom.

During theſe misfortunes, Xerxes, who had been the cauſe of all, lay at Sardis, expecting the event of his expedition. But meſſengers coming every hour, loaded with the news of ſome fatal diſaſter; and finding himſelf unable to retrieve his affairs, he retired farther into the country, and endeavoured to drown in luxury and riot the uneaſy reflections of his ſucceſsleſs ambition. To the want of ſucceſs abroad, was added the contempt of his ſubjects at home; and this brought on a train of treaſons, inſurrections, ſacrilege,

 murder,

murder, inceſt, and cruelty: ſo that the latter part of his reign was as ſcandalous as the firſt part of it had been unfortunate.

The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, ſet ſail towards the Helleſpont, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the bridges which Xerxes had built over that ſtrait; but finding them already deſtroyed by the tempeſtuous weather, they returned home. From this time, all the cities of Ionia revolted from the Perſians, and having entered into the general confederacy, moſt of them preſerved their liberty during the time that empire ſubſiſted.

The treaſures which the Perſians had brought into Greece were very great, and, in conſequence of their defeat, became a prey to the conquerors. From this period, the Greeks began to loſe their ſpirit of hardy and laborious virtue, and to adopt the refined indolence and captious petulance, and the boundleſs love of pleaſure, which extreme wealth is ever known to produce. The former equality of the people now began to be broken, and while one part of the inhabitants rioted in opulence and luxury, another was ſeen pining in want and deſpair. It was in vain that philoſophy reared its head to ſtop theſe calamities; its voice reaches but to a few; the great and the little vulgar are equally deaf to its dictates. From this

time

time we are to view a different picture; and, instead of a brave and refined people confederating against tyranny, we are to behold an enervated and factious populace, a corrupt administration, and wealth alone making distinction.

CHAP. VIII.

From the Victory at Mycale, to the Beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

No sooner were the Greeks freed from the apprehensions of a foreign invasion, than they began to entertain jealousies of each other. Indeed these petty animosities had all along subsisted among them, but they were kept under by the sense of general danger. As this collection of republics was composed of states intirely dissimilar in manners, interests, and inclinations, it was no way surprizing to find its parts ever at variance with each other. The first marks of jealousy upon the destruction of the Persian army, exhibited themselves between the Athenians and Spartans. Th[e] one a refined ambitious state, unwilling to adm[i]t a superior in the genera[l] confederacy; the othe[r] an hardy unpolished race, which could never [t]hink of admitting A. M. 3526.

…ing a feebler ſtate as an equal. The Athenians, with their families, being returned to their own country, began to think of rebuilding the city, which had been almoſt deſtroyed during the Perſian war. As every new foundation aims at improving the old, they laid a plan of ſtrengthening and extending their walls, and giving their city at once more magnificence and ſecurity. This was but natural; however the Lacedæmonians conceived a jealouſy at this undertaking, and began to think that Athens, from being miſtreſs of the ſeas, would ſoon attempt uſurping all authority upon land. They, therefore, ſent an embaſſy to the Athenians, to diſſuade them from this undertaking; giving as an oſtenſible reaſon, the danger ſuch fortifications would be of to the general confederacy, if they ſhould ever fall into the hands of the Perſians. This meſſage at firſt appeared reaſonable, and the Athenians put an immediate ſtop to their undertaking; but Themiſtocles, who ſince the battle of Salamis continued to guide in the aſſemblies of Athens, eaſily ſaw through the pretext, and adviſed the council to meet their diſſimulation with ſimilar addreſs. He, therefore, anſwered the Spartan ambaſſadors, that the Athenians would ſoon ſend an embaſſy to Lacedæmon, in which they would fully ſatisfy all their ſcruples. Having thus gained time, he procured

cured himſelf to be elected for that important negociation, and took care to draw out the treaty by ſtudied delays. He had previouſly deſired that his colleagues ſhould follow one after another, and ſtill he alledged at Lacedæmon, that he only waited for their arrival to determine the affair at a ſingle audience. During all this time the work was carried on at Athens with the utmoſt vigour and induſtry, the women and children, ſtrangers and ſlaves, were all employed in it, nor was it interrupted for a ſingle day. It was in vain that the Spartans complained of this procedure; it was in vain that they urged Themiſtocles to haſten his buſineſs; he ſtedfaſtly denied the firſt, and entreated them not to give any credit to looſe and idle reports. He deſired they would ſend again, and enquire into the truth of the matter; and, at the ſame time, adviſed the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys until he and his colleagues ſhould return. At laſt, finding all his pretences for delay exhauſted, he boldly demanded an audience, and knowing that the work was finiſhed, he no longer kept on the maſk. He then informed the Spartans in full council, that Athens was now in a condition to keep out an enemy, whether foreign or domeſtic; that what his countrymen had done was conformable both to the

law of nations, and the common intereſts of Greece. Every city had a right to conſult for its own ſafety, without ſubmitting to the advice or controul of its neighbours; that what had been done was entirely in conſequence of his advice; and, in ſhort, that whatever injury they offered him, they muſt expect it would be returned upon their own ambaſſadors, who were ſtill detained at Athens. Theſe declarations extremely diſpleaſed the Lacedæmonians; but, either ſenſible of their truth, or unwilling to come to an open rupture, they diſſembled their reſentment, and the ambaſſadors on both ſides having all ſuitable honours paid them, returned to their reſpective cities. Themiſtocles was received with as much joy by his fellow-citizens as if he had returned from triumph; and he was of a diſpoſition to feel thoſe honours with the higheſt delight.

Having thus taken proper precautions for ſecuring the city, his next care was to ſtrengthen the port, and form an harbour at once ſpacious and ſecure. He likewiſe obtained a decree, that every year they ſhould build twenty veſſels, to continue and augment their force by ſea; and, in order to engage the greater number of workmen and ſailors to reſort to Athens, he cauſed particular privileges and immunities to be granted to them. His deſign was to render Athens a maritime city; in

h he followed a very different syst of politics from their former governors, who bent all their efforts to alienate the minds of the people from commerce and naval affairs.

But as ſucceſs in one part is apt to lead on to deſigns ſtill more extenſive, Themiſtocles was willing to outſtep the bounds of juſtice in the proſecution of his darling projects. He even formed a plan of ſupplanting Sparta, and making Athens the unrivalled miſtreſs of Greece. On a certain day, therefore, he declared in a full aſſembly of the people, that he had a very important deſign to propoſe, but which could not be communicated to the public, as the execution required ſecrecy and diſpatch. He, therefore, deſired they would appoint a perſon to whom he might explain himſelf, one whoſe judgment might direct, and whoſe authority might confirm him in his deſign. It was not eaſy to miſs the wiſeſt and the beſt man of the ſtate, and Ariſtides was unanimouſly choſen by the whole aſſembly, as the propereſt perſon to weigh the juſtice as well as the utility of the propoſal. Themiſtocles, therefore, taking him aſide, told him, that the deſign he had conceived was to burn the fleet belonging to the reſt of the Grecian ſtates, which then lay in a neighbouring port, and thus procure Athens an undiſputed ſovereignty of the ſea. Ariſtides, inwardly diſpleaſed at the propoſal,

posal, e no answer, but returning to th sembly, formed them, that nothing cou' more advantageous to Athens than what Themistocles proposed, but that nothing could be more unjust. The people, still possessed of a share of remaining virtue, unanimously declined the proposal without knowing its contents, and conferred the surname of *Just* upon Aristides, a title still the more flattering, as he had so well deserved it.

Thus Athens being restored to peace and security, once more began to apply to those arts that adorn life and secure freedom. The people began to assume a greater share in the government of the state than they had hitherto aspired at, and steps were every day taken to render the constitution entirely popular. Aristides perceived this, and justly dreaded the consequences of a democratic government; he, therefore, procured a decree, that the archons, who were the chief magistrates of the state, should be chosen indiscriminately from all ranks of Athenians without distinction. Thus, by indulging the citizens in a part of their wishes, e secured a legal subordination among the whole

In the mean ime, the Grecians, encouraged by their former v ctories, resolved to send a fleet to deliver their c nfederates, who still groaned beneath the Persia yoke. Pausanias commanded the

the Spartan fleet, while Ariſtides, and Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, were appointed to conduct the fleets of Athens. This was the firſt time the latter, who was yet very young, was placed in a ſphere for the exhibition of his virtues. He had formerly ſuffered himſelf to be impriſoned till he could pay his father's fine, and his piety upon that occaſion gave the moſt favourable preſage of his future greatneſs. When ſet at liberty, his ſervices in war ſoon became conſpicuous, and it was ſeen that he acted with the courage of his father, the judgment of Themiſtocles, and with more ſincerity than either. The ingenuous openneſs of his temper being eaſily ſeen, he was oppoſed in the ſtate as a counterpoiſe to the craft and ſubtlety of Themiſtocles, and thus advanced to the higheſt employments both at home and abroad. Under theſe commanders, the allied fleet firſt directed their courſe to the iſle of Cyprus, where they reſtored all the cities to their liberty; then ſteering towards the Helleſpont, they attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themſelves maſters, and took a vaſt number of priſoners, many of whom were of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable families of Perſia.

The ſucceſs of this expedition was not more flattering to the Greeks, than in the end prejudicial to them. A deluge of wealth pouring in, corrupted

rupted the ſimplicity, and tainted the manners of every rank of people. The Athenians, already ſkilled in the arts of politeneſs and effeminacy, concealed their change for a time, but it ſoon broke out among the Spartans; and Pauſanias himſelf, their commander, was the firſt who was infected with the contagion. Being naturally of an haughty and imperious temper, and ſtill more impreſſed with the gloomy auſterity of Sparta, he ſet no bounds to his ambition; he treated his officers, and even the confederate generals, with ſeverity, arrogance, and diſdain; and ſo much alienated the minds of the ſoldiers, that he was forſaken by all the confederates, who put themſelves under the command and protection of Ariſtides and Cimon. This haughty and impolitic conduct, was the means of transferring the ſovereignty of the ſea from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians; it gave a bias to the ſcale of the Athenian power, which no ſubſequent effort of the Spartans could poſſibly counteract. Ariſtides and Cimon had ever preſerved an evenneſs of conduct; affable, courteous, and obliging, they tempered their authority with mildneſs, and won by their gentle manners ſuch as they could not engage by their benefits. An oppoſition ſo mortifying could not but be diſpleaſing to Pauſanias; it was in vain that he attempted to keep up his authority

by

by pride and oftentation; his impor funk with his unpopularity; and he became contemptible, even to thofe that ftill acknowledged his command.

Perhaps it was from thefe motives that he refolved to facrifice his country to his ambition, and give up to the Perfians a ftate where he could no longer expect to dictate. Be this as it will, he made overtures for gaining the favour of Xerxes; and, in order to ingratiate himfelf at the court of that monarch, he fuffered fome of his more exalted prifoners to make their efcape by night. Thefe prifoners were commiffioned with letters to Xerxes, wherein he offered to deliver up Sparta and all Greece, on condition that he would give him his daughter in marriiage. Xerxes readily hearkened to the propofal, and referred him to Artabazus, his governor, to concert meafures with him for putting it in execution. He alfo furnifhed him with a large fum of money, to be diftributed among fuch of the Grecian ftates as would join in the confpiracy.

How long this treaty continued fecret we are not told, but it was difcovered at Sparta before it could be put in execution, and Paufanias was ordered home to take his trial for the offence. The proofs, however, againft him were not fufficient for conviction, as the Ephori had made it a

 rule

rule to convict a man but upon the plainest evidence. But his command was taken from him, and he retired, still meditating revenge and the destruction of his country. It was not long, however, before he received a second summons to appear before the Ephori for fresh crimes, and a number of his own slaves were found to depose against him. Still, however, he had the fortune to come off; the mildness of the Spartan laws, and the authority of his regal office, which he still possessed, conspiring to protect him.

Pausanias, having in this manner twice escaped the justice of his country, would not, however, abandon his base projects, or sacrifice his resentment to his safety. Immediately upon his being acquitted, he returned to the sea-coasts, without any authority from the state, and still continued to carry on his correspondence with Artabazus. He now acted with such little reserve, that his conduct was known to the Ephori, and they only wanted information to convict him. While they were thus perplexed for want of evidence, a certain slave, who was called the Argilian, cleared their doubts, and came with proofs which could not be resisted. This man had been employed by Pausanias to carry a letter to Artabazus, and he accordingly prepared himself for the expedition; but reflecting, that many of his fellow-slaves had

been

been ſent on ſimiliar meſſages, and ſeeing none of them return, he was induced to open the pacquet of which he was the bearer, and there he diſcovered the myſtery and his own danger. It ſeems, that Pauſanias and the Perſian governor had agreed to put to death all the meſſengers they mutually ſent to each other as ſoon as their letters were delivered, that there might be no poſſibility left of tracing out, or diſcovering the correſpondence. This letter he delivered to the Ephori, who were now convinced that Pauſanias was guilty; but for a more thorough confirmation, they were willing to have it from himſelf. For this purpoſe, they contrived that the ſlave ſhould take ſanctuary in the temple of Neptune as for ſafety and protection, and under a pretence of ſupplicating the deity for the infidelity he had committed. The inſtant Pauſanias was informed of his ſlave's behaviour, he haſtened to the temple to enquire the reaſon; where the ſlave informed him, that having opened his letter, he found the contents fatal to himſelf, and therefore took this method of averting the danger. Pauſanias, inſtead of denying the fact, endeavoured rather to pacify the ſlave, and promiſed him a large reward to bribe his future ſecrecy. But during this interview, the Ephori had privately poſted perſons to overhear the converſation, and they ſoon divulged his guilt. The

moment, therefore, he was returned to the city, the Ephori resolved to seize him, and from the aspect of one of these magistrates he plainly perceived his danger: he, therefore, flew to take sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, and got thither before his pursuers could overtake him. As the religion of the state would not permit his being taken forcibly from thence, the people stopped up the entrance with great stones, and tearing off the roof, left him exposed to the inclemency of the weather. After a short stay he was starved to death; and in this miserable manner died the general, who had led on the victorious troops to the field of Platæa.

The fate of Pausanias soon after involved that of Themistocles, who had some time before been banished, and lived in great esteem at Argos. A passionate thirst of glory, and a strong desire to command arbitrarily over the citizens, had made him very odious at Athens. He had built near his house a temple in honour of Diana, under this title, To Diana, the Goddess of Good Counsel; as hinting his own counsels upon several important occasions, and thus tacitly reproaching his fellow-citizens of having forgot them. This, though a small offence, was sufficient to expel him from so fluctuating and jealous a state as that of Athens; but he was now accused of having participated

cipated in, and having been privy to the designs of Pausanias. In fact, Pausanias had communicated to him all his designs, but Themistocles had rejected his proposals with the utmost indignation. But then he concealed his enterprizes, either thinking it base to betray the secrets trusted to his confidence, or imagining it impossible for such dangerous and ill-concerted schemes to take effect. Be this as it will, upon the downfal of Pausanias, it appeared that a correspondence had been carried on between them, and the Lacedæmonians declared themselves his accusers before the assembly of the people of Athens. Such of the citizens as had long either envied, or feared Themistocles, now joined in the general accusation, and urged his death with great acrimony. Aristides alone, who had long been his open opposer, refused to join in this base confederacy against him; and rejected so mean an opportunity of revenge, being as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his adversary, as he had before been to envy his successes. It was in vain that Themistocles answered by letters to the calumnies laid against him; it was in vain that he alledged, that a mind like his, disdaining slavery at home, could think of wishing for it in exile; the people, too strongly wrought upon by his accusers, sent persons to seize and bring him before the council

of Greece. Fortunately, however, he had timely notice of their defign, and went to take refuge in the ifland of Corcyra, to the inhabitants of which he had formerly done fignal fervices. From thence he fled to Epirus, and finding himfelf ftill purfued by the Athenians, grown at length defperate, he fled to Admetus, king of the Moloffians, for refuge. There he firft practifed all the abject arts of a man obliged to fue to a tyrant for fuccour. He had, upon a former occafion, been inftrumental in preventing the Athenians from granting aid to this monarch, and this was now feverely remembered againft him. Admetus was from home at the time Themiftocles came to implore protection; and, upon his return, he was furprized to find his old adverfary, who had come to put himfelf under his protection. As foon as the king appeared, Themiftocles took that monarch's young fon in his arms, and feating himfelf amidft the houfhold gods, informed him of the caufe of his arrival, and implored his clemency and protection. Admetus furprized, and moved with compaffion at feeing the greateft man of Greece an humble fuppliant at his feet, raifed him immediately from the ground, and promifed him protection. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came to demand him, he refufed abfolutely to deliver up a perfon who had made his palace an afylum,

asylum, in the firm persuasion that it would afford him safety and protection. Thus continuing to spend the close of life in indolence and retirement, having learned to pardon and despise the ingratitude of his country, he expected at least their forgiveness. But the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not suffer him to live in peace, and still insisted on having him delivered up. In this exigence, as the king found himself unable to protect his illustrious guest, he resolved to promote his escape. He was, therefore, put on board a merchant ship, which was sailing to Ionia, and his quality concealed with the utmost precaution. A storm having carried the ship near the island of Naxos, then besieged by the Athenians, the imminent danger he was in of falling into their hands, compelled him to discover himself to the pilot, and prevailed upon him to steer for Asia; where, arriving at Cumæ, a city of Æolia, in Asia Minor, he was from thence sent under a strong guard, and in one of those covered chariots in which the Persians were accustomed to convey their wives, to the court of Sardis.

When the unfortunate exile was arrived at the palace of the voluptuous monarch of the country, he waited on the captain of the guard, requesting, as a Grecian stranger, to have permission to speak with the king. The officer informed him of a

ceremony, which he knew was insupportable to some Greeks, but without which none were allowed that honour. This was to fall prostrate before the Persian monarch, and to worship him as the living image of the gods on earth. Themistocles, who was never scrupulous of the means of obtaining what he sought, promised to comply, and falling on his face before the king in the Persian manner, declared his name, his country, and misfortunes. "I have done, cried he, my ungrateful country services more than once, and I am now come to offer those services to you. My life is in your hands: you may now exert your clemency, or display your vengeance. By the former you will preserve a faithful suppliant, by the latter you will destroy the greatest enemy to Greece." The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his eloquence and intrepidity, but he soon gave a loose to his joy for the event. He told his courtiers, that he considered the arrival of Themistocles as a very happy incident, and wished that his enemies would for ever pursue the same destructive methods of banishing from among them the good and wise. His joys were even continued in a dream. At night he was seen to start from his sleep, and three times to cry out, "I have got Themistocles the Athenian." He even gave him three cities for his

 support,

ſupport; and had him maintained in the utmoſt affluence and ſplendor. It is ſaid, that ſuch was his favour at the Perſian court, and ſo great was the conſideration in which he was held by all ranks of mankind, that one day at table he was heard to cry out to his wife and children that were placed there, "Children, we ſhould have been certainly ruined, if we had not been formerly undone."

In this manner he lived in affluence and contented ſlavery, until the king began to think of employing his talents in ſending him at the head of an army againſt Athens. Although Themiſtocles profeſſed himſelf an open enemy to that ſtate, yet he ſtill harboured a latent affection for it, which no reſentment could remove. The conſciouſneſs that he ſhould be inſtrumental in overturning a city which had been made to flouriſh by his counſels, gave him inexpreſſible pain. He found himſelf at laſt unable to ſuſtain the conflict between his gratitude to the king and his love to his country; and, therefore, reſolved upon dying, as the only means of eſcaping from his perplexity. He, therefore, prepared a ſolemn ſacrifice, to which he invited all his friends, when, after embracing them all, and taking a laſt farewel, he ſwallowed poiſon, which ſoon put an end to his life. He died at Magneſia, aged threeſcore and five years, the greateſt part of which he had ſpent

in

in the intrigues and buſtles of active employment. Themiſtocles ſeemed to unite in himſelf all the prominent features of the Greek character; ſagacious, eloquent, and brave, yet unprincipled, artful, and mercenary, with too many virtues ever to be mentioned as a deſpicable character, and too many defects ever to be conſidered as a good one.

In the mean time, while Themiſtocles was thus become the ſport of fortune, the juſt Ariſtides attempted a nobler path to glory. It has already been obſerved, that the command of Greece had paſſed from Sparta to the Athenians; and it was agreed among the body of the ſtates, that their common treaſure for carrying on the expences of the war, ſhould be lodged in the iſland of Delos, under the cuſtody of a man of a clear head and an uncorrupt heart. The great queſtion, therefore, was, where to find a man to be truſted with ſo important a charge, and ſtedfaſtly known to prefer the public intereſt to his own. In this general diſquiſition, all parties at laſt caſt their eyes on Ariſtides, of whom Themiſtocles uſed jeſtingly to ſay, that he had no other merit than that of a ſtrong box, in keeping ſafely what was committed to his charge.

The conduct of Ariſtides in his diſcharge of this duty, only ſerved to confirm the great opinion mankind had formed of his integrity. He preſided

ſided over the treaſury with the care of a father over his family, and the caution of a miſer over what he holds dearer than life. No man complained of his adminiſtration, and no part of the public money was exhauſted in vain. He who thus contributed to make government rich, was himſelf very poor; and ſo far was he from being aſhamed of poverty, that he conſidered it as glorious to him as all the victories he had won. It happened upon a certain occaſion, that Callias, an intimate friend and relation of Ariſtides, was ſummoned before the judges for ſome offence; and one of the chief objections alledged againſt him was, that while he rolled in affluence and luxury, he ſuffered his friend and relation Ariſtides to remain in poverty and want. Upon this occaſion, Ariſtides was called upon, when it appeared that Callias had often offered to ſhare his fortune with him, but that he declined the benefit; aſſerting, that he only might be ſaid to want, who permitted his appetites to tranſgreſs the bounds of his income; and that he who could diſpenſe with a few things, thus rendered himſelf more like the gods, that want for nothing.

In this manner he lived, juſt in his public, and independent in his private capacity. His houſe was a public ſchool for virtue, and was open to all young Athenians who ſought wiſdom, or were ambitious

ambitious of power. He gave them the kindeſt reception, heard them with patience, inſtructed them with familiarity, and endeavoured above all things to give them a juſt value for themſelves. Among the reſt of his diſciples Cimon, who afterwards made ſuch a diſtinguiſhed figure in the ſtate, was one of the foremoſt.

Hiſtory does not mention the exact time or place of his death; but it pays the moſt glorious teſtimony to his diſintereſted character, in telling us, that he who had the abſolute diſpoſal of all the public treaſures died poor. It is even aſſerted, that he did not leave money enough behind him to pay the expences of his funeral, but that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His daughters were married, and his ſon ſubſiſted at the expence of the public; and ſome of his grandchildren were ſupported by a penſion, equal to that which ſuch received as had been victorious at the Olympic games. But the greateſt honour which his countrymen paid to his memory, was in giving him the title of Juſt, a character far ſuperior to all the empty titles of wiſdom or conqueſt; ſince fortune or accident may confer wiſdom or valour, but the virtues of morality are ſolely of our own making.

Athens being in this manner deprived of the counſels and integrity of her two greateſt magi-

ſtrates,

ſtrates, room was now made for younger ambition to ſtep forward, and Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, promiſed to act his part with dignity and honour. Cimon had ſpent his youth in exceſſes, from the bad effects of which it was thought no effort could extricate him. When he firſt offered to gain public favour, he was ſo ill received by the people, prejudiced againſt him by his former follies, that he ſuffered the moſt cruel neglect. But, though he was poſſeſſed of courage and abilities, he began to lay aſide all thoughts of public reſpect, being contented with humbler ſatisfactions. But Ariſtides perceiving that his diſſolute turn of mind was united with many great qualifications, he inſpired him with freſh hopes, and perſuaded him once more to renew the onſet. He now, therefore, entirely changed his conduct, and laying aſide his juvenile follies, aimed at nothing but what was great and noble. Thus he became not inferior to Miltiades in courage, or to Themiſtocles in prudence, and was not far ſurpaſſed by Ariſtides in integrity.

The firſt expedition of any note to the command of which Cimon was appointed, was of the fleet deſtined to ſcour the Aſiatic ſeas. When he was arrived at Caria, all the Grecian cities upon the ſea-coaſt immediately came over to him; and the reſt, which were garriſoned by the Perſians, were

were taken by ſtorm. Thus, by his conduct as well as by his intelligence, the whole country from Ionia to Pamphylia declared againſt the power of Perſia, and joined in the aſſociation with Greece.

The capture of the city of Eion is too remarkable to be paſt over in ſilence. Boges was governor, who held it for his maſter, the king of Perſia, with a firm reſolution to ſave it, or periſh in its fall. It was in his power to have capitulated with the beſiegers, and Cimon had often offered him very advantageous terms; but preferring his honour to his ſafety, he declined all treaty, and defended his ſtation with incredible fury, till he found it no longer poſſible to continue his defence. Being at laſt in the utmoſt want of proviſions, he threw all his treaſures from the walls into the river Strymon, after which, killing his wife and children, he laid them upon a pile which he had erected for that purpoſe, and then ſetting fire to the whole, ruſhed and expired in the midſt of the flames.

From thence Cimon repaired to Scyrus, an iſland inhabited by a ſet of piratical Pelaſgi and Dolopians. Having attacked and diſperſed theſe banditti, he planted ſome Athenian colonies along the ſhores of the Ægean ſea; the trade of which was now laid open to the Greeks. He next carried the arms of Greece into Eubœa; where he

procured

procured the alliance of the Caryſtians, on terms of his own propoſing. He now reduced Naxos to obedience; but, having found the inhabitants very obſtinate and refractory, he judged it proper to deprive them of their freedom. This is the firſt inſtance in which any dependent city was enſlaved, without the concurrence of the confederacy. But ſuch ſtretches of power ſoon became common to all the leading ſtates in Greece. The Athenians had impoſed taxes on many of the colonies, and of the cities and iſlands that had been conquered. Theſe taxes the people ſubmitted to with much reluctance; and, whenever they ſaw a promiſing opportunity, they were ſure to revolt. Hence was afforded a plea, for the firſt Grecian general that might overcome ſuch a people, to rob them of their liberty.

Cimon thus proceeding from one conqueſt to another, was at laſt informed, that the whole Perſian fleet was anchored at the mouth of the river Eurymidon, where they expected a reinforcement of ſhips from Phœnicia, and, therefore, deferred an engagement till then. The Athenian general, however, reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent this junction, and ranged his gallies in ſuch a poſture as to prevent it, and yet compel the enemy to an engagement. It was in vain that the Perſian fleet retired farther up the mouth of the river, the

Athenians ſtill purſued them up the ſtream, until they were obliged to prepare for battle. The Perſians having the ſuperiority of an hundred ſail, maintained the conflict for ſome time with great intrepidity; but being at laſt forced on ſhore, they who came firſt threw themſelves upon land, leaving their empty veſſels to the enemy. Thus, beſides what were ſunk, the Athenians took above two hundred ſhips; and following their blow upon land, the Greek ſoldiers jumping from their ſhips, and ſetting up a ſhout, ran furiouſly upon the enemy, who ſuſtained the firſt ſhock with great reſolution. But, at length, the Grecian valour ſurmounted the enemy's deſperation; a total rout of the Perſians enſued, numbers were made priſoners, and a great quantity of plunder ſeized, which was found in their tents. Thus the Greeks obtained a double victory by ſea and land upon the ſame occaſion.

Cimon having returned ſucceſsful from this expedition, reſolved to expend thoſe treaſures which he had taken in war, in beautifying and adorning his native city. A taſte for architecture had for ſome time been gaining ground in Greece, and the Athenians gave the world examples in this art, that ſurpaſs all others to this very day. Victories ſo very humiliating to the pride of Perſia, induced that empire at laſt to think of peace; and after

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ſome time a treaty was concluded, in which the terms were very honourable on the ſide of Greece. It was ſtipulated, that the Grecian cities in Aſia ſhould be left in quiet enjoyment of their liberty, and that both the land and ſea forces of the Perſians, ſhould be kept at ſuch a diſtance from the Grecian ſeas, as not to create the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion. Thus entirely ended the Perſian war, which had kept the Grecian ſtates united, and called all their abilities into exertion; from that time forward, thoſe enmities which were diſſipated upon the common foe, began to be turned upon each other: the Greeks loſt all warlike ſpirit in petty jealouſies, and entirely ſoftening by the refinements and luxuries of peace, prepared themſelves for ſubmiſſion to the firſt invader of their freedom.

About this time the ſtudy of philoſophy was carried from Ionia to Athens, by Athenagoras the Clazomenian. Poetry was, at the ſame time, cultivated by Simonides of the iſland of Ceos, who ſung the exploits of his country in a ſtyle becoming their valour. His writings, however, have not had merit enough to preſerve them from oblivion; and it may be aſſerted, that mankind never ſuffer any work to be loſt which tends to make them more wiſe or happy.

CHAP. IX.

From the Peace with Persia, to the Peace of Nicias.

THE ſtate of Athens being thus in a great meaſure freed from its fears of a foreign enemy, began to cheriſh inteſtine animoſities, and its citizens laboured with every art to ſupplant each other in aiming at places of truſt and authority. Beſides Cimon, who, by general conſent, had been appointed to conduct the fleet and army, others endeavoured to take the lead at home, and to govern with leſs hazard the operations of the ſtate. The foremoſt in this attempt was Pericles, who was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. Pericles was deſcended from the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious families of Athens: his father, Xanthippus, defeated the Perſians at Mycale, and his mother, Agariſta, was niece to Caliſthenes, who expelled the tyrants, and eſtabliſhed a popular government in Athens. He had early thoughts of riſing in the ſtate, and took leſſons from Anaxagoras, in the philoſophy of nature. He ſtudied politics with great aſſiduity, but particularly devoted himſelf to eloquence, which,

which, in a popular ſtate, he conſidered as the fountain of all promotion. His ſtudies were crowned with ſucceſs; the poets, his contemporaries, affirm, that his eloquence was ſo powerful, that, like thunder, he ſhook and aſtoniſhed all Greece. He had the art of uniting force and beauty; there was no reſiſting the ſtrength of his arguments, or the ſweetneſs of his delivery. Thucydides, his great opponent, was often heard to ſay, that though he had often overthrown him, the power of his perſuaſion was ſuch, that the audience could never perceive him fallen.

To this eloquence he added alſo a thorough inſight into human nature, as well as a perfect acquaintance with the diſpoſition of his auditors. It was a conſtant ſaying with him to himſelf, Remember Pericles, thou art going to ſpeak to men born in the arms of liberty, and do thou take care to flatter them in their ruling paſſion. He reſembled the tyrant Piſiſtratus, not only in the ſweetneſs of his voice, but the features of his face, and his whole air and manner. To theſe natural and acquired graces, he added thoſe of fortune; he was very rich, and had an extenſive alliance with all the moſt powerful families of the ſtate.

The death of Ariſtides, the baniſhment of Themiſtocles, and the abſence of Cimon, gave opportunities to his growing ambition. Yet he at firſt

concealed his designs with the most cautious reserve, till finding the people growing more and more in his interest, he set himself at their head, and opposed the principal men of the state with great appearance of disinterested virtue. The chief obstacle to his rise was Cimon, whose candour and liberality had gained him a numerous party of all ranks and denominations. In opposition to him, Pericles called in popular assistance, and by expending the public money in bribes, largesses, and other distributions, he easily gained the multitude to espouse his interests.

Thus having laid a secure foundation in popularity, he next struck at the council of the Areopagus, composed of the most respectable persons of all Athens; and, by the assistance of one Ephialtes, another popular champion, he drew away most causes from the cognizance of that court, and brought the whole order into contempt. In this manner, while Cimon was permitted to conduct the war abroad, he managed all the supplies at home; and, as it was his interest to keep Cimon at a distance, he took care to provide him with a sufficiency of foreign employment.

In this state of parties at Athens, an insurrection of the Helotæ, or Lacedæmonian slaves, gave an opportunity of trying the strength of either. These men, who had for several centuries groaned

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under the yoke of oppreſſion, and had been excluded from all hopes of riſing, merely by the influence of an unjuſt prejudice, at laſt took up arms againſt their maſters, and threatened no leſs than the deſtruction of the Spartan ſtate. In this extremity, the Lacedæmonians ſent to Athens, to implore ſuccour; but this was oppoſed by Ephialtes, who declared, that it would be no way adviſeable to aſſiſt them, or to make a rival city powerful by their aſſiſtance. On the other hand, Cimon eſpouſed the cauſe of Sparta, declaring, that it was weak and inconſiſtent to maim the Grecian confederacy, by ſuffering one of its members to be tamely lopped away. His opinion for this time prevailed; he was permitted to march forth at the head of a numerous body to their relief, and the inſurrection was quelled at their approach. But ſhortly after the miſchief broke out afreſh. The Helots poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſtrong fortreſs of Ithome, and the Spartans again petitioned for Athenian aſſiſtance. It was now that the party of Pericles was found to prevail, and the Lacedæmonians were refuſed a compliance with their demands. Thus left to finiſh the war with their inſurgent ſlaves in the beſt manner they could, after beſieging Ithome, which held out for ten years, they at laſt became maſters of it, ſparing the lives

of thoſe who defended it, upon condition of leaving Peloponneſus ever after.

In the mean time, the refuſal on the ſide of Athens, and ſome indignities ſaid to have been received from the Lacedæmonians, revived a jealouſy that had long ſubſiſted between theſe rival ſtates, which continued thence forward to operate with greater or more diminiſhed influence, until both were utterly unable to withſtand the ſmalleſt efforts of foreign invaſion.

The firſt inſtance the Athenians gave of their reſentment, was to baniſh Cimon, who had been a favourer of the Spartan cauſe, for ten years, from the city. They next diſſolved their alliance with Sparta, and entered into a treaty with the Argives, the profeſſed enemies of the former. The ſlaves of Ithome were alſo taken under Athenian protection, and ſettled with their families at Naupactus. All the privileges of Spartan ſubjects were demanded in behalf of the Athenians reſiding in Lacedæmon; and all the benefits of the Spartan laws, in behalf of their own dependent cities. But what contributed to widen the breach ſtill more, the city of Megara revolting from its alliance with Sparta, was protected and garriſoned by the Athenians: thus was laid the foundation of an inveterate hatred, which ended in mutual deſtruction of both ſtates.

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The chief motive to this insolent and treacherous conduct of the Athenians, was the high tone of superiority which they had assumed ever since the victory at Platæa. That victory had raised them to the same national eminence with the Lacedæmonians. Their ideas of grandeur and rank had, from that period, been fostering. It was not, in their opinion, sufficient that they were accounted equal to the Spartans; she must needs be looked upon as their superiors. They, therefore, call themselves the *Protectors of Greece*; they desire that the convention of the states shall be held at Athens; and determine to avenge the slightest affront by the edge of the sword.

As in all beginning enmities, several treaties were entered into, and several leagues concluded on both sides, till at last they came to a formal rupture. Two pitched battles between the Athenians and Corinthians, in which either side was alternately victorious, sounded the alarm. Another followed between the Athenians and Spartans at Tangara, in which Cimon, forgetting the injury he had sustained from his country, came to its assistance; but the Athenians suffered a defeat. A month or two after another engagement happened, and the Athenians were in their turn victorious. The conduct of Cimon again restored him to public favour; he was recalled from ba-

 nishment,

nifhment, in which he had fpent five years; and it was Pericles, his rival, who firft propofed the decree.

The firft ufe Cimon made of his return, was to reconcile the two rival ftates to each other; and this was fo far effected outwardly, that a truce for five years was concluded between them. This led the way to exerting the power of the ftate upon a more diftant enemy. By his advice, a fleet of two hundred fail was manned, and deftined, under his command, to conquer the ifland of Cyprus. He quickly failed, over-ran the ifland, and laid fiege to Citium. Here, being either wounded by the defendants, or wafted by ficknefs, he began to perceive the approaches of diffolution; but ftill mindful of his duty, he ordered his attendants to conceal his death until their fchemes were crowned with fuccefs. They obeyed with fecrecy and fuccefs. Thirty days after he was dead, the army, which ftill fuppofed itfelf under his command, gained a fignal victory: thus he died not only in the arms of conqueft, but gained battles merely by the efficacy of his name. With Cimon, in a great meafure, expired the fpirit of glory in Athens. As he was the laft, fo he was the moft fuccefsful of the Grecian heroes. Such was the terror of the Perfians at his name, that they univerfally deferted the fea-coafts, and would

not come within four hundred furlongs of the place where he could poffibly be expected.

Pericles being now, by the death of Cimon, freed from a potent rival, fet himfelf to complete the work of ambition which he had begun; and by dividing the conquered lands, amufing the people with fhows, and adorning the city with public buildings, he gained fuch an afcendant over the minds of the people, that he might be faid to have attained a monarchical power in Athens. He found means to maintain, for eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board the fleet, confifting of threefcore fhips, which he fitted out every year. He planted feveral colonies in the many places which had lately fubmitted to Athens. By this he cleared the city of a great number of idle perfons, who were ever ready to difturb government; and were, at the fame time, unable to fubfift. But the public buildings which he raifed, the ruins of fome of which fubfift to this day, are fufficient to endear his name to pofterity. It is furprizing, that in a city not noted for the number of its inhabitants, and in fo fhort a fpace of time as that of his adminiftration, fuch laborious, expenfive, and magnificent works could be performed. All the arts of architecture, fculpture, and painting were exhaufted in his defigns; and what ftill remain, continue

tinue to this hour as inimitable models of perfection. To effect these great works, he, in some measure, had recourse to injustice, and availed himself of those treasures which had been supplied by Greece for carrying on the war with Persia, and which having been lodged at Delos, he had address enough to get transported to Athens, where he expended them in securing his own power by all the arts of popularity. By these means Athens became so much admired, and envied by her neighbours, that it went by the name of the *Ornament*; and when it was urged, that the common treasure was squandered away in these works of show, Pericles answered, that the people of Athens were not accountable to any for their conduct; for they had the best right to the treasures of the confederated states, who took the greatest care to defend them. He added, that it was fit that ingenious artizans should have their share of the public money, since there was still enough left for carrying on the war.

These were rather the arguments of power than persuasion, of a man already in possession, than willing upon just grounds to relinquish what he claimed. It was seen not only by the wiser citizens, but by all the states of Greece, that he was daily striding into power, and that he would, as Pisistratus had done before, make the people the fabricators

fabricators of their own chains. For remedying this growing evil, the heads of the city oppofed Thucydides to his growing power, and attempted to reftrain his career by oppofing eloquence to popularity.

Thucydides was brother-in-law to Cimon, and had difplayed his wifdom on numberlefs occafions. He was not poffeffed of the military talents of his rival, but his eloquence gave him a very powerful influence over the people. As he never left the city, he ftill combated Pericles in all his meafures, and for a while brought down the ambition of his rival to the ftandard of reafon.

But his efforts could not long avail againft the perfuafive power and corrupt influence of his opponent. Pericles every day gained new ground, till he at laft found himfelf poffeffed of the whole authority of the ftate. It was then that he began to change his behaviour, and from acting the fawning and humble fuppliant, he affumed the haughty airs of royalty. He now no longer fubmitted himfelf to the caprice of the people, but changed the democratic ftate of Athens into a kind of monarchy, without departing, however, from the public good. He would fometimes indeed win his fellow-citizens over to his will; but at other times, when he found them obftinate, he would in a manner compel them to confult their own interefts.

refts. Thus, between power and perfuafion, public profufion, and private œconomy, political falfehood, and private integrity, Pericles became the principal ruler at Athens, and all fuch as were his enemies, became the enemies of the ftate.

It is not to be wondered, that this profperous and magnificent ftate of Athens was not a little difpleafing to the rival ftates of Greece; efpecially as its ftate of fplendor was, in fome meafure, formed from their contributions. The Spartans particularly, ftill continued to regard this growing city with envy, and foon fhewed their difpleafure, by refufing to fend deputies to Athens, to confult about repairing the temple that had been burnt down during the wars with Perfia. The fucceffes of Pericles againft the enemy in Thrace, ftill more increafed their uneafinefs; and particularly when failing round Peloponnefus with an hundred fhips, he protected the allies of Greece, and granted their cities all they thought fit to afk him. Thefe fucceffes raifed the indignation of Sparta, while they intoxicated Athens with ideas of ambition, and opened new inlets for meditating conqueft. The citizens now began to talk of attempts upon Egypt, of attacking the maritime provinces of Perfia, of carrying their arms into Sicily, and of extending their conquefts from Italy to Carthage. Thefe were views beyond their power, and that

rather

rather marked their pride, than their ability or wisdom.

An expedition against Samos, in favour of the Milesians, who had craved their assistance, was the beginning of this rupture, which never after was closed up. It is pretended, that Pericles fomented this war, to please a famous courtezan named Aspasia, of whom he was particularly enamoured. After several events and battles, not worth the regard of history, Pericles besieged the capital of Samos with tortoises and battering rams, which was the first time these military engines had been employed in sieges. The Samians, after sustaining a nine months siege, surrendered. Pericles razed their walls, dispossessed them of their ships, and demanded immense sums to defray the expences of the war. Flushed with this success, he returned to Athens, buried all those who had lost their lives in the siege in the most splendid manner, and pronounced their funeral oration.

A rupture now between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians seemed inevitable. Pericles, therefore, to anticipate the designs of the rival state, advised that aid should be sent to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians, assisted by the Lacedæmonians, had invaded.

A. M. 3572.

As

As the quarrel between the Corcyreans and Corinthians gave rise to the great Peloponnesian war, which soon after involved all Greece, it will be necessary to give a slight account of its original. Epidamnus was a colony of the Corcyreans, which growing first rich, and soon after factious, banished the chief of her citizens. The exiles joining with the Illyrians, brought the Epidamnians so low, that they were obliged to send to Corcyra, their parent city, for assistance. The Corcyreans rejecting their request, they had recourse to Corinth; and giving themselves up to that state, were taken under its protection. This, however, the Corcyreans began to resent, and having been remiss in affording assistance themselves, resolved to punish such as should offer any. A rupture took place between the Corinthians and Corcyreans, some naval engagements ensued, in which the Corcyreans being worsted, had recourse, as has been already observed, to the Athenians for support, who sent some naval succours, which, however, proved of no great efficacy in their defence.

From this war arose another: for Potidæa, a city belonging to Athens, declaring for Corinth, these two states, from being accessories, became principals, and drew their forces into the field near Potidæa, where a battle ensued, in which the Athenians had the victory. It was in this battle that

Socrates ſaved the life of Alcibiades, his pupil; and after the battle was over, procured him the prize of valour, which he himſelf had more juſtly earned. The city of Potidæa was ſoon after beſieged, in conſequence of this victory, and the Corinthians complained to the ſtates of Greece againſt the Athenians, as having infringed the articles of peace. The Lacedæmonians, in particular, admitted them to an audience, where the deputies of Corinth endeavoured to rouze them into a ſenſe of their danger from the ambitious deſigns of Athens; and threatened, if left unprotected, to put themſelves under the command of a power ſtrong enough to grant them protection and ſafety. After hearing what the Athenians had to reply, the Spartans came to a cloſe debate among themſelves, wherein it was univerſally agreed, that the Athenians were the aggreſſors, and that they ſhould be reduced to a juſt ſenſe of their duty. But the diſpute was, whether war ſhould be immediately declared againſt them, or remonſtrances made to bring them to reaſon. Archidamus, one of their kings, a man of prudence and temper, was of opinion, that they were not at this time a match for Athens, and endeavoured to diſſuade them from ruſhing into a thoughtleſs and improvident war. But Sthenelaides, one of the Ephori, urged the contrary, alledging, that when once

they

they had received an injury, they ought not to deliberate, but that revenge ſhould follow inſult. Accordingly a war was declared, and all the confederates were made acquainted with the reſolution.

War being thus reſolved upon, in order to give a colour of juſtice to their deſigns, the Lacedæmonians began by ſending ambaſſadors to Athens; and, while they made preparations for acting with vigour, ſtill kept up a ſhew of ſeeking redreſs by treaty. They required of the Athenians the expulſion of ſome who had profaned the temple of Minerva at Cylon from their city; they demanded that the ſiege of Potidæ ſhould be raiſed, and that the Athenians ſhould ceaſe to infringe upon the liberties of Greece.

Pericles now ſaw, that as he had led the Athenians into a war, it was incumbent upon him to inſpire them with courage to proſecute it with vigour. He ſhewed his countrymen that even trifles extorted from them with an air of command, were in themſelves a ſufficient ground for war; that they might promiſe themſelves a conſiderable ſhare of ſucceſs from the diviſion in the confederated councils of their opponents; that they had ſhipping to invade their enemies coaſts, and their city being well fortified, could not eaſily be taken by land. He concluded with telling them the abſolute neceſſity there was for war; and that the more chearfully

fully they undertook it, the easier it would be to bring it to an happy conclusion. That the greatest honours had generally recurred to their state from the greatest extremities; that this should serve to animate them in its defence, so as to transmit it with undiminished honour to posterity. The people, giddy, fond of change, and unterrified by distant dangers, readily came into his opinion; and, to give some colour to their proceedings, returned evasive answers to the Spartan demand; and concluded with asserting, that they desired to adjust all differences by treaty, as unwilling to begin a war; but, in case of danger, they would defend themselves with desperate resolution.

Thus the people, from their love of change, entered hastily into the war, but Pericles was personally interested in its declaration. He was deeply indebted to the state, and knew that a time of peace was the only opportunity in which he could be called upon to settle his accounts. It is said that Alcibiades, his nephew, seeing him one day very pensive, and demanding the reason, was answered, that he was considering how to make up his accounts. "You had better, said he, consider how to avoid being accountable." Besides this, Pericles finding no happiness in domestic society, gave himself up to the allurements of his mistress Aspasia, whose wit and vivacity had captivated all

the poets and philosophers of the age, Socrates himself not excepted. She was inclined to oppose the Spartan state; and he, in some measure, is thought to have acquiesced in her advice.

War being thus resolved on on every side, the first dawn of success seemed to offer in favour of Athens; the city of Platæa, that had lately declared for them, was surprized by three hundred Thebans, who were let in by a party of the town that joined in the conspiracy. But a part of the citizens that had espoused the opposite interests, falling upon them in the night, killed a part, and took two hundred prisoners, who a little time after were put to death. The Athenians, as soon as the news was brought of this action, sent succours and provisions thither, and cleared the city of all persons who were incapable of bearing arms. From this time all Greece appeared in motion; every part of it took a side in the common quarrel, except a few states, who continued neuter till they should see the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece, and espoused their interests with ardour. On their side were ranged the Achaians, the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium. On the side of Athens, were the people of Chios, Lesbos, Platæa, many of the islands, and several

ſeveral tributary maritime ſtates, including thoſe of Thrace, Potidæa excepted.

The Lacedæmonians, immediately after their attempt upon Platæa, aſſembled a body of men, making up, with their confederates, ſixty thouſand in number: Archidamus, who commanded the army, harangued them in an animated ſpeech. He told them, that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; that they were ſuperior in numbers, and were to oppoſe an enemy not only inferior in number, but oppreſſed with the conſciouſneſs of their own violence and injuſtice. He exhorted them to march boldly into the country they were about to enter, with that courage for which they had been long famous, and with that caution which was requiſite againſt ſo inſidious an adverſary. The whole army anſwered with an acclamation of joy; and thus that war, which was to be the deſtruction of Greece, was commenced in a phrenzy of tranſport by its ſhort-ſighted inhabitants, who hurried on to mutual ruin.

Pericles, on the other hand, prepared his ſcanty body of Athenians to meet the threatened blow. He declared to the Athenians, that ſhould Archidamus, when he was laying waſte the Athenian territories, ſpare any part of thoſe lands that belonged to Pericles himſelf, he would only conſider it as a trick to impoſe upon Athenian cre-

 dulity;

dulity; he, therefore, gave up all his property in those lands, and resigned them back to the state, from which his ancestors had originally received them. He declared to the people, that it was their interest to protract the war, and to let the enemy be ruined by delay. He advised them to remove all their effects from their country, and to shut themselves up in Athens, without ever hazarding a battle. Their troops indeed were but very scanty compared to those they were to oppose; they amounted but to thirteen thousand heavy armed soldiers, sixteen thousand inhabitants, and twelve hundred horse, with a body of archers about double that number. This was the whole army of the Athenians; but their chief strength consisted in a fleet of three hundred gallies, which, by continually infesting and plundering the enemy's coast, raised contributions sufficient to defray the expences of the war.

Imprest with the exhortation of Pericles, the Athenians, with a mixture of grief and resolution, forsook the culture of their fields, and carried all their possessions that could be conveyed away with them into Athens. They had now enjoyed the sweets of peace for near fifty years, and their lands bore an appearance of wealth and industry; but from the fate of war they were once more obliged

to

to forsake culture for encampment, the sweets of rural life, for the shocks of battle.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians entered the country at Oenoe, a frontier fortress, and leaving it behind them, marched forward to Acharne, an unwalled town, within seven miles of Athens. The Athenians, terrified at their approach, now began to convert their fury against the enemy into reproaches against their former leader. They abused him for bringing them into a war, in which he had neither strength to oppose, nor courage to protect them; they loudly desired, notwithstanding the inferiority of their number, to be led into the field of battle. Pericles, however, chose the more moderate part. He shut up the city gates, placed sufficient guards at all the posts around, sent out parties of horse to keep the enemy employed; and, at the same time, ordered out one hundred gallies, to infest the coasts of Peloponnesus. These precautions at last succeeded; after the Lacedæmonians had laid waste the whole country round Athens, and insulted the defenders of the city by their numbers and their reproaches, finding the place impregnable, they abandoned the siege, and the inhabitants once more issued from their walls in joy and security.

The Athenians, after this severe mortification, resolved to retaliate; being left at liberty to act

 offensively,

offensively, as well by land as sea, they invaded the enemy's territory with their whole force in turn, and took Nisæ, a strong haven, with walls reaching unto the city of Nigara.

Proud of the first dawn of success, the first campaign being elapsed, during the winter they expressed their triumph by public games at the funerals of those that were slain in battle. They placed their bodies in tents three days before the funeral; upon the fourth day coffins of cyprus were sent from the tribes, to convey the bones of their relations; the procession marched with solemn pomp, attended by the inhabitants and strangers who visited the city; their relations, and children of the soldiers who were killed, stood weeping at the sepulchre; those who fell at the battle of Marathon indeed were buried on the field, but the rest received one common interment in a place called Cerannicus. Pericles, who had contributed to the saving of his country, contributed also to its honour, and pronounced a funeral oration over them, which remains to this day, at once a mark of his eloquence and his gratitude. But the joy of the public was not confined to empty praises, ceremonies, and tears; a stipend was set apart for maintaining the widows and the orphans of those who fell in the service of their country. And thus ended the first year of the Peloponnesian war.

In

In the beginning of the ensuing summer, the Lacedæmonians renewed their hostilities, and invaded the territories of Athens with the same number of men as before. In this manner these capricious states went on to harrass and depopulate each other: but a more terrible punishment now began to threaten them from nature. A plague broke out in the city of Athens, a more terrible than which is scarcely recorded in the annals of history. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it descended into Egypt, from thence travelled into Libya and Persia, and at last broke like a flood upon Athens. This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art; the most robust constitutions were unable to withstand its attacks; no skill could obviate, nor no remedy dispel the terrible infection. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The humanity of friends was as fatal to themselves, as it was ineffectual to the unhappy sufferers. The prodigious quantity of baggage which had been removed out of the country into the city, increased the calamity. Most of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could scarce breathe, while the burning heat of the summer increased the pestilential malignity. They were seen confusedly huddled together, the dead as well as the dying;

fome crawling through the ftreets, fome lying along by the fides of fountains, whither they had endeavoured to repair to quench the raging thirft which confumed them. Their very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful fcene of mortality, without the leaft remedy for the prefent, or the leaft hopes with regard to futurity. It feized the people with fuch violence, that they fell one upon another as they paffed along the ftreets. It was alfo attended with fuch uncommon peftilential vapours, that the very beafts and birds of prey, though famifhing round the walls of the city, would not touch the bodies of thofe who died of it. Even in thofe who recovered, it left fuch a tincture of its malignity, that it ftruck upon their fenfes. It effaced the memory of all the paffages of their former lives, and they knew neither themfelves nor their neareft relations. The circumftances of this difeafe are defcribed at large by Thucydides, who was fick of it himfelf; and he obferves, among other effects of it, that it introduced into the city a more licentious way of living. For the people at firft had recourfe to their gods to avert that judgment; but finding they were all alike infected, whether they worfhipped them or not, and that it was generally mortal, they abandoned themfelves at once to defpair and riot: for fince they held

their

their lives but as it were by the day, they were resolved to make the moſt of their time and money. The cauſe of it was generally imputed to Pericles, who, by drawing ſuch numbers into the city, was thought to have corrupted the very air. Yet, though this was raging within, and the enemy waſting the country without, he was ſtill in the ſame mind as before, that they ought not to reſt all their hopes on the iſſue of a battle. In the mean time, the enemy advancing towards the coaſt, laid waſte the whole country, and returned, after having inſulted the wretched Athenians, already thinned by peſtilence and famine.

Fickleneſs and inconſtancy were the prevailing characters of the Athenians; and as theſe carried them on a ſudden to their greateſt exceſſes, they ſoon brought them back within the bounds of moderation and reſpect. Pericles had been long a favourite; the calamities of the ſtate at laſt began to render him obnoxious; they had depoſed him from the command of his army, but now repented their raſhneſs, and reinſtated him a ſhort time after, with more than former authority. By dint of ſuffering, they began to bear patiently their domeſtic misfortunes; and, impreſt with a love of their country, to aſk pardon for their former ingratitude. But he did not live long to enjoy his honours. He was ſeized with the plague, which, like a malig-

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nant enemy, ſtruck its ſevereſt blow at parting. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his laſt, the principal citizens, and ſuch of his friends that had not forſaken him, diſcourſing in his bed-chamber concerning the loſs they were about to ſuſtain, ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories. They did not imagine that Pericles attended to what they ſaid, as he ſeemed inſenſible; but it was far otherwiſe, for not a ſingle word of their diſcourſe had eſcaped him. At laſt, cried he, why will you extol a ſeries of actions, in which fortune had the greateſt part; there is one circumſtance which I would not have forgotten, yet which you have paſſed over; I could wiſh to have it remembered, as the moſt glorious circumſtance of my life—that I never yet cauſed a ſingle citizen to put on mourning.

Thus died Pericles, in whom were united a number of excellent qualities without impairing each other. As well ſkilled in naval affairs as in the conduct of armies; as well ſkilled in the arts of raiſing money as of employing it; eloquent in public, and pleaſing in private; he was a patron of artiſts, at once informing them by his taſte and example.

The moſt memorable tranſaction of the following years, was the ſiege of Platæa by the Lacedæmonians. This was one of the moſt famous ſieges in

in antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties, but especially for the glorious resistance made by the besieged, and the stratagems to escape the fury of the assailants.

The Lacedæmonians besieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As soon as they had fixed their camp round the city, in order to lay waste the places adjacent, the Platæans sent deputies to the Lacedæmonian general, declar[illegible] the injustice of injuring them, who had received their liberties on a former occasion from the Lacedæmonians themselves. The Lacedæmonians replied, that there was but one method to insure their safety, which was to renew that alliance by which they had originally procured their freedom; to disclaim their Athenian supporters, and to unite with the Lacedæmonians, who had power and will to protect them. The deputies replied, they could not possibly come to any agreement without first sending to Athens, whither their wives and children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to send thither, and the Athenians solemnly promising to succour them to the utmost of their power, the Platæans resolved to suffer the last extremities rather than surrender, and prepared for a vigorous defence, with a steady resolution to succeed or fall.

Archidamus,

Archidamus, the Lacedæmonian general, after calling upon the gods to witneſs that he did not firſt infringe the alliance, prepared for the ſiege with equal perſeverance. He ſurrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid very cloſe together, their branches turned towards the city. He then raiſed batteries upon them, and formed a terrace ſufficient to ſupport his warlike machines. His army worked night and day without intermiſſion for ſeventy days, one half of the ſoldiers repoſing themſelves while the others were at work.

The beſieged obſerving the works begin to riſe round them, threw up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city, oppoſite the platform, in order that they might always out-top the beſiegers. This wall was covered on the outſide with hides both raw and dry, in order to ſhelter it from the beſiegers fires. Thus both walls ſeemed to vie with each other for ſuperiority, till at laſt the beſieged, without amuſing themſelves at this work any longer, built another within, in the form of a half moon, behind which they might retire in caſe their outer works were forced.

In the mean time, the beſiegers having mounted their engines of war, ſhook the city wall in a very terrible manner; which, though it alarmed the citizens, did not however diſcourage them: they

employed

employed every art that fortification could suggest against the enemy's batteries. They catched with ropes the heads of the battering-rams that were urged against them, and deadened their force with levers. The besiegers finding their attack did not go on successfully, and that a new wall was raised against their platform, despaired of being able to storm the place; and, therefore, changed the siege into a blockade, after having vainly attempted to set fire to the city, which was suddenly quenched by a shower. The city was now surrounded by a brick wall, suddenly erected, strengthened on each side by a deep ditch. The whole army was engaged successively upon this wall, and when it was finished they left a guard over half of it; the Bœotians offering to guard the other half, while the rest of the army returned to Sparta.

In this manner the wretched Platæans were cooped up by a strong wall, without any hopes of redress, and only awaited the mercy of the conqueror. There were now in Platæa but four hundred inhabitants, and fourscore Athenians, with an hundred and ten women to dress their victuals, and no other person, whether freeman or slave, all the rest having been sent to Athens before the siege. At last the inhabitants of Platæa, having lost all hopes of succour, and being in the utmost want of provisions, formed a resolution to cut their way

through

through the enemy. But half of them, ſtruck with the greatneſs of the danger, and the boldneſs of the enterprize, entirely loſt courage when they came to the execution; but the reſt (who were about two hundred and twenty ſoldiers) perſiſted in their reſolution, and eſcaped in the following manner. The beſieged firſt took the height of the wall, by counting the rows of bricks which compoſed it; and this they did at different times, and employed ſeveral men for that purpoſe, in order that they might not miſtake in the calculation. This was the eaſier, becauſe as the wall ſtood but at a ſmall diſtance, every part of it was very viſible. They then made ladders of a proper length. All things being now ready for executing the deſign, the beſieged left the city one night when there was no moon, in the midſt of a ſtorm of wind and rain. After croſſing the firſt ditch, they drew near the wall undiſcovered through the darkneſs of the night, not to mention that the noiſe made by the rain and wind prevented their being heard. They marched at ſome diſtance from one another, to prevent the claſhing of their arms, which were light, in order that thoſe who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked, to keep them from ſliding ſo eaſily in the mire. Thoſe who carried the ladders, laid them in the ſpace between the towers, where they knew no

 guard

guard was posted, because it rained. That instant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the towers, six on each side. They were followed by soldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the easier, and their shields were carried after them to be used in the charge. When most of these were got to the top of the wall, they were discovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades in taking hold of the parapet had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole army approached the wall, without discovering the occasion of the outcry, from the gloom of the night and the violence of the storm. Besides which, those who had staid behind in the city, beat an alarm at the same time in another quarter, to make a diversion; so that the enemy did not know which way to turn themselves, and were afraid to quit their posts. But a corps de reserve of three hundred men, who were kept for any unforeseen accident that might happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noise, and torches were held up towards Thebes, to shew that they must run that way. But those in the city, to render the signal of no use, made others at the same time in different quarters, having prepared them on the walls for that purpose.

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In the mean time, thoſe who had mounted firſt having poſſeſſed themſelves of the two towers which flanked the interval where the ladders were ſet, and having killed thoſe who guarded them, poſted themſelves there to defend the paſſage, and keep off the beſiegers. Then ſetting ladders on the top of the wall betwixt the two towers, they cauſed a good number of their comrades to mount, in order to keep off, by the diſcharge of their arrows, as well thoſe who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as the others who were haſtening to the neighbouring towers. Whilſt this was doing they had time to ſet up ſeveral ladders, and to throw down the parapet, that the reſt might come up with greater eaſe. As faſt as they came up, they went down on the other ſide, and drew up near the foſſe, on the outſide, to ſhoot at thoſe who appeared. After they were paſſed over, the men who were in the towers came down laſt, and made to the foſſe to follow after the reſt. That inſtant the guard with three hundred torches came up. However, as the Platæans ſaw their enemies by this light better than they were ſeen by them, they therefore took a ſurer aim, by which means the laſt croſſed the ditch without being attacked in their paſſage. However, this was not done without much difficulty, becauſe the ditch was frozen over, and the ice would not bear on account of

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thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the ſtorm was of great advantage to them. After all were paſſed they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat, becauſe it was not likely they had fled towards a city of the enemy's. Immediately they perceived the beſiegers with torches in their hands purſuing them in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that of Thebes about ſix or ſeven ſtadia, they turned ſhort towards the mountain, and reſumed the route of Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived out of two hundred and twenty, who had quitted the place, the reſt having returned back to it through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the ſide of the foſſe of contravallation. The beſiegers, after having purſued them to no purpoſe, returned to their camp. In the mean time, the Platæans who remained in the city, ſuppoſing that all their companions had been killed (becauſe they who were returned, to juſtify themſelves, affirmed they were) ſent a herald to demand their dead bodies; but being told the true ſtate of the affair, he withdrew. At the end of the following campaign, the Platæans being in abſolute want of proviſions, and unable to make the leaſt defence, ſurrendered upon condition that they ſhould not be puniſhed till they had been tried and adjudged in form of juſtice. Five commiſſioners came for this purpoſe

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from Lacedæmon, and these, without charging them with any crime, barely asked them whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war? The Platæans were much surprized, as well as puzzled at this question, and were sensible, that it had been suggested by the Thebans, their professed enemies, who had vowed their destruction. They, therefore, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the services they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemisium and that of Platæa, and particularly in Lacedæmonia at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their slaves. The only reason they offered for their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was to defend themselves from the hostilities of the Thebans, against whom they had implored the assistance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpose. That if that was imputed to them as a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not, however, entirely to obliterate the remembrance of their former services. "Cast your eyes, said they, on the monuments of your ancestors which you see here, to whom we annually pay all the honours which can be rendered to the names of the dead. You thought fit to entrust their bodies with us, as we were eye-witnesses of their bravery. And yet you will now give up their ashes to their murtherers,

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in abandoning us to the Thebans, who fought againſt them at the battle of Platæa. Will you enſlave a province where Greece recovered its liberty? Will you deſtroy the temples of thoſe gods to whom you owed the victory? Will you aboliſh the memory of their founders, who contributed ſo greatly to your ſafety? On this occaſion, we may venture to ſay, our intereſt is inſeparable from your glory, and you cannot deliver up your ancient friends and benefactors to the unjuſt hatred of the Thebans, without eternal infamy to yourſelves." One would conclude, that theſe juſt remonſtrances muſt have made ſome impreſſion on the Lacedæmonians; but they were biaſſed more by the anſwer the Thebans made, and which was expreſſed in the moſt haughty and bitter terms againſt the Platæans; and beſides, they had brought their inſtructions from Lacedæmon. They ſtood, therefore, to their firſt queſtion, Whether the Platæans had done them any ſervice ſince the war? and making them paſs one after another, as they ſeverally anſwered No, each was immediately butchered, and not one eſcaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner, and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the ſame unhappy fate. Their wives, who had been taken priſoners, were made ſlaves. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from

Megara and Thebes, but the year after they demolished it entirely. It was in this manner the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, facrificed the Platæans to their animofity, ninety-three years after their firft alliance with the Athenians.

Much about this time was fet on foot the expedition for the relief of Lefbos. But the Peloponnefians hearing, in their voyage, of a violent infurrection in Corcyra, refolved to fail thither, hoping that the difaffected ftate of that ifland would make it fall an eafy prey to their army. They were, however, difappointed in their expectation: for the Corcyrians had become fo exafperated and fo defperate, as to deter the moft daring enemy from approaching their city. It was about the fame time alfo, that Sicily began to be agitated by a quarrel, that took place between the inhabitants of Syracufe and thofe of Leontium. Their diffenfions ran high: but the detail of them, and of the operations at Corcyra, and other places, I am inclined to pafs over in filence, as they were incidents in which the Grecian ftates mutually deftroyed each other, without promoting general happinefs, or eftablifhing any common form of government. The fluctuations of fuccefs were various. The Athenians took the city of Pylus from the Lacedæmonians; and they, on the other hand, made annual incurfions into Attica. More than

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one overture for a peace was made by the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors without effect; for Cleon, who had a great aſcendant among the Athenians, boaſted that he would take all the Spartans priſoners in the iſland of Sphacteria, within twenty days. The war was, therefore, renewed, with all its former animoſities. This iſland, which was ſituated near Pylus, became the ſcene of mutual contention. Demoſthenes, the Athenian admiral (whoſe valour and conduct his eloquent deſcendant of the ſame name, afterwards extolled) being joined in commiſſion with Cleon, landed on the iſland, in order to diſpoſſeſs the Lacedæmonians, who ſtill remained there. They attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from poſt to poſt, and gaining ground perpetually, at laſt forced them to the extremity of the iſland. The Lacedæmonians had ſtormed a fort that was thought inacceſſible. There they drew up in order of battle, faced about to that ſide only where they could be attacked, and defended themſelves like ſo many lions. As the engagement had laſted the greateſt part of the day, and the ſoldiers were oppreſſed with heat and wearineſs, and parched with thirſt, the general of the Meſſenians directing himſelf to Cleon and Demoſthenes, the general who was joined in commiſſion with him, ſaid, that all their efforts would be to no purpoſe, unleſs they charged

their enemy's rear; and he promiſed, if they would give him but ſome troops, armed with miſſive weapons, that he would endeavour to find a paſſage. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain ſteep and craggy places, which were not guarded; then coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a ſudden at the backs of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage, and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble reſiſtance, and being oppreſſed with numbers, attacked on all ſides, and dejected through fatigue and deſpair, they began to give way: but the Athenians ſeized on all the paſſes, and cut off their retreat. Cleon and Demoſthenes finding, that ſhould the battle continue, not a man of them would eſcape, and being deſirous of carrying them alive to Athens, commanded their ſoldiers to deſiſt, and cauſed proclamation to be made to them by a herald to lay down their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion. At theſe words the greateſt part lowered their ſhields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed upon, and their commander deſired that leave might be granted him to diſpatch a meſſenger to the camp, to know the reſolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coaſt, and after ſeveral meſſages, a Lacedæmonian ad-

vanced forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided they did not ſubmit to diſhonourable terms. Upon this, they held a conference, after which they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raiſing a trophy, and reſtoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after diſtributing the priſoners among the ſeveral ſhips, and committing the guard of them to the captains of the gallies. In this battle one hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at firſt; ſo that there ſurvived not quite three hundred, an hundred and twenty of whom were inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The ſiege of the iſland (to compute from the beginning of it, including the time employed in the truce) had laſted threeſcore and twelve days. They all now left Pylus, and Cleon's promiſe, though deemed ſo vain and raſh, was found literally true. But the moſt ſurprizing circumſtance was the capitulation that had been made; for it was believed, that the Lacedæmonians, ſo far from ſurrendering their arms, would die ſword in hand. Being come to Athens, they were ordered to remain priſoners till a peace ſhould be concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incurſions into their country, for that

then they ſhould all be put to death. They left a garriſon in Pylus. The Meſſenians of Naupactus, who had formerly poſſeſſed it, ſent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infeſted the Lacedæmonians by their incurſions; and, as theſe Meſſenians ſpoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of ſlaves to join them. The Lacedæmonians, dreading a greater evil, ſent ſeveral deputations to Athens, but to no purpoſe; the Athenians being too much elated with their proſperity, and eſpecially their late ſucceſs, to liſten to any terms. For two or three years ſucceſſively hoſtilities were carried on with alternate ſucceſs, and nothing but the humbling of the one or other of the two rival ſtates could decide the quarrel. The Athenians made themſelves maſters of the iſland of Cythera; but, on the other hand, were defeated by the Lacedæmonians at Dellion. At length, the two nations began to grow weary of a war, which put them to great expence, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce for a year was, therefore, concluded between them, which ſerved to pave the way for a more laſting reconciliation. The death of the two generals that commanded the contending armies, ſerved not a little to haſten this event. Braſidas, the Lacedæmonian, was killed as he was conducting a ſally, when beſieged

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in Amphipolis; and Cleon, the Athenian, despiſing an enemy to which he knew himſelf ſuperior, was ſet upon unawares, and, flying for ſafety, was killed by a ſoldier who happened to meet him. Thus theſe two men, who had long oppoſed the tranquillity of Greece, and raiſed their reputations but in a very different way, fell a ſacrifice to their own ambition.

They were, however, men of very oppoſite characters. Braſidas had courage and conduct, moderation and integrity; and it was he alone who, at this time, kept up the ſinking reputation of his country. He was the only Spartan ſince Pauſanias, who appeared with any eſtabliſhed character among the confederates, to whom he behaved ſo well, that they were again brought under the dependence of Sparta; and ſeveral cities came in to him as their common deliverer from the tyranny of Athens. The inhabitants of Amphipolis, beſides their joining with the other allies in ſolemnizing his funeral in a public manner, inſtituted anniverſary games and ſacrifices to his memory as an hero; and ſo far conſidered him as their founder, that they deſtroyed all the monuments which had been preſerved as marks of their being an Athenian colony. His oppoſition to the peace was not ſo much the effect of his obſtinacy, as of a true Spartan zeal for the honour of his country,

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which he was sensible had been treated by the Athenians with too much insolence and contempt. He had now a fair prospect of bringing them to reason, as he was gaining ground upon them, and every day making fresh conquests: and, however he might be transported with the glory of performing great actions, yet the main end of his ambition seems to have been, the bringing the war to an happy conclusion. I must not here omit the generous answer his mother made to the persons who brought her the news of his death. Upon her asking them whether he died honourably, they naturally fell into encomiums on his great exploits, and his personal bravery, and preferred him to all the generals of his time: "Yes, said she, my son was a valiant man, but Sparta has still many citizens braver than he."

Cleon was another sort of man. He was rash, arrogant, and obstinate, contentious, envious, and malicious, covetous and corrupt; and yet, with all these bad qualities, he had some little arts of popularity which raised and supported him. He made it his business to caress the old men; and, as much as he loved money, he often relieved the poor. He had a readiness of wit, with a kind of drollery, that took with many, though with the generality it passed for impudence and buffoonery. He had one very refined way of recommending

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himſelf, which was, upon his coming into pow r, to diſcard all his old friends, for fear it ſhould be thought he would be biaſſed by them. At the ſame time, he picked up a ſet of vile ſycophants in their room, and made a ſervile court to the loweſt dregs of the people; and yet, even they had ſo bad an opinion of him, that they often declared againſt him for Nicias, his profeſſed enemy; who, though he took part with the nobility, ſtill preſerved an intereſt with the commons, and was more generally reſpected. That which Cleon chiefly depended on, was his eloquence; but it was of a boiſterous kind, verboſe and petulant, and conſiſted more in the vehemence of his ſtyle and utterance, and the diſtortion of his action and geſture, than in the ſtrength of his reaſoning. By this furious manner of haranguing, he introduced among the orators and ſtateſmen a licentiouſneſs and indecency which were not known before, and which gave riſe to the many riotous and diſorderly proceedings which took place afterwards in the aſſemblies, when almoſt every thing was carried by noiſe and tumult. In the military part of his ſervice, he was as unaccountable as in the reſt of his conduct. He was not naturally formed for war, and only made uſe of it as a cloak for his ill practices, and becauſe he could not carry on his other views without it. His taking Sphacteria was certainly a great action,

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but it was a raſh and deſperate one; and it has been ſhewn, how he was undeſignedly drawn into it by a boaſt of his own. However, he was ſo elated with the ſucceſs of that expedition, that he fancied himſelf a general, and the people were brought to have the ſame opinion. But the event ſoon undeceived them, and convinced them that he knew better how to lead in the aſſembly than in the field. In reality, he was not a man to be truſted in either. For in the one he was more of a bluſterer than of a ſoldier; and in the other, he had more of an incendiary than a patriot.

The Lacedæmonians were no leſs inclined to peace than the Athenians, and were glad to treat at this time, while they could do it with honour: beſides, they had nothing more at heart than the impriſonment of their men taken at Pylus, they being the chief of their city; and, among other conſiderations, it was not the leaſt, that the truce which they had made with Argos for thirty years, was juſt upon expiring. This was a ſtrong and flouriſhing city, and though it was not of itſelf a match for Sparta, yet they knew it was far from being contemptible; and that it held too good a correſpondence with its neighbours, not to make itſelf capable of giving them a great deal of uneaſineſs. The matter having been canvaſſed and debated moſt part of the winter, the Lacedæmonians,

nians, to bring the treaty to a conclusion, gave out, that they resolved, as soon as the season would permit, to fortify in Attica. Upon which the Athenians grew more moderate in their demands, and a peace was concluded in the tenth year of the war, between the two states and their confederates, for fifty years. The chief articles being, that the garrisons should be evacuated, and the towns and prisoners restored on both sides. This was called the Nician peace, because Nicias, who was just the reverse of his rival Cleon, was the chief instrument in effecting it. Besides the tender concern he always expressed for his country, he had more particular ends in it, in securing his reputation. For he had been upon many expeditions, and had generally succeeded in them; but yet he was sensible how much he owed to his good fortune and his cautious management, and he did not care to risque what he had already got for the hopes of more

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

From the Peace of Nicias, to the End of the Peloponnesian War.

EVERY thing now promifed a reftoration of former tranquillity. The Bœotians and Corinthians were the firft that fhewed figns of difcontent, and ufed their utmoft endeavours to excite frefh troubles. To obviate any dangers arifing from that quarter, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians united in a league offenfive and defenfive, which ferved to render them more formidable to the neighbouring ftates, and more affured with regard to each other. Yet ftill the former animofities and jealoufies fermented at bottom; and while friendfhip feemed to glofs over external appearances, frefh difcontents were gathering within. The character indeed of Nicias was peaceable, and he did all in his power to perfuade the Athenians to feek the general tranquillity. But a new promoter of troubles was now beginning to make his appearance, and from him, thofe who wifhed for peace had every thing to fear. This was no other than the celebrated Alcibiades, the difciple of Socrates, a youth equally remark-

able for the beauty of his person and the greatness of his mental accomplishments.

The strict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates, is one of the most remarkable circumstances of his life. This philosopher observing excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his person, bestowed incredible pains in cultivating so valuable a plant, lest, being neglected, it should wither as it grew, and absolutely degenerate: and, indeed, Alcibiades was exposed to numberless dangers; the greatness of his extraction, his vast riches, the authority of his family, the credit of his guardians, his personal talents, his exquisite beauty, and, still more than these, the flattery and complaisance of all who approached him. One would have concluded, says Plutarch, that fortune had surrounded and invested him with all these pretended advantages, as with so many ramparts and bulwarks, to render him inaccessible and invulnerable to all the darts of philosophy, those salutary darts which strike to the very heart, and leave in it the strongest incitements to virtue and solid glory. But those very obstacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates. Notwithstanding the strong endeavours that were used to divert this young Athenian from a correspondence which alone was capable of securing him from so many snares, he devoted himself entirely

tirely to it; he had the moſt unbounded wit; he was fully ſenſible of Socrates's extraordinary merit, and could not reſiſt the charms of his ſweetly inſinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater aſcendant over him than the allurements of pleaſure. He was ſo zealous a diſciple of that great maſter, that he followed him wherever he went, took the utmoſt delight in his converſation, was extremely well pleaſed with his principles, received his inſtructions, and even his reprimands, with wonderful docility, and was ſo moved with his diſcourſes, as even to ſhed tears and abhor himſelf: ſo weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in ſo odious a light did he ſhow the vices to which Alcibiades abandoned himſelf. Alcibiades, in thoſe moments when he liſtened to Socrates, differed ſo much from himſelf, that he appeared quite another man. However, his head-ſtrong fiery temper, and his natural fondneſs for pleaſure, which was heightened and inflamed by the diſcourſes and advice of young people, ſoon plunged him into his former irregularities, and tore him as it were from his maſter, who was obliged to purſue him as a ſlave who had eſcaped correction. This viciſſitude of flights and returns of virtuous reſolutions, and relapſes into vice, continued a long time; but ſtill Socrates was not diſguſted by his levity, and always flattered himſelf

himself with the hopes of bringing him back to his duty: and hence certainly arose the strong mixture of good and evil that always appeared in his conduct; the instructions which his master had given him sometimes prevailing, and, at other times, the fire of his passions hurrying him, in a manner, against his own will into things of a quite opposite nature. Among the various passions that were discovered in him, the strongest and most prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to submit to it, and could not bear a superior, or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents smoothed the way to his attaining the highest employments in the republic, yet it was his wish, that the confidence of the people should be gained by the force of his eloquence, and the persuasive grace of his orations. To this end, his intimacy with Socrates might be of great service. Alcibiades, with such a cast of mind as we have described, was not born for repose, and had set every engine at work to reverse the treaty lately concluded between the two states; but not succeeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent its taking effect. He was disgusted at the Lacedæmonians, because they directed themselves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and, on the contrary, seemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his ancestors had

enjoyed the rights of hoſpitality among them. The firſt thing he did to infringe the peace was this: having been informed that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to differ with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared, he flattered them ſecretly with the hopes that the Athenians would ſuccour them, by ſuggeſting to them, that they were ready to break a peace which was no way advantageous to them. Accordingly, he laid hold of this juncture, and improved the pretext the Lacedæmonians had given to exaſperate the people both againſt them and Nicias: which had ſo good an effect, that every thing ſeemed diſpoſed for a treaty with Argos: of which the Lacedæmonians being very apprehenſive, immediately diſpatched their ambaſſadors to Athens, who at firſt ſaid what ſeemed very ſatisfactory; that they came with full power to concert all matters in difference upon equal terms. The council received their propoſitions, and the people were to aſſemble the next day to give them audience. Alcibiades, in the mean while, fearing leſt this negociation ſhould ruin his deſigns, had a ſecret conference with the ambaſſadors, and perſuaded them, under a colour of friendſhip, not to let the people know at firſt what full powers their commiſſion gave them, but intimate, that they came only to treat and make propoſals; for that otherwiſe they would

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grow exorbitant in their demands, and extort from them ſuch unreaſonable terms as they could not with honour conſent to. They were ſo well ſatiſfied with the prudence and ſincerity of this advice, that he drew them from Nicias to rely entirely upon himſelf; and the next day, when the people were aſſembled, and the ambaſſadors introduced, Alcibiades, with a very obliging air, demanded of them with what powers they were come? They made anſwer, that they were not come as plenipotentiaries. Upon which he inſtantly changed his voice and countenance, and exclaiming againſt them as notorious liars, bid the people take care how they tranſacted any thing with men on whom they could have ſo little dependence. The people diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors in a rage; and Nicias knowing nothing of the deceit, was confounded and in diſgrace. To redeem his credit, he propoſed being ſent once more to Sparta; but not being able to gain ſuch terms there as the Athenians demanded, they immediately upon his return ſtruck up a league with the Argives for an hundred years, including the Eleans and Mantineans; which yet did not in terms cancel that with the Lacedæmonians, though it is plain, that the whole intent of it was levelled againſt them. Upon this new alliance, Alcibiades was declared general; and though his beſt friends could not commend the method by

which he brought about his deſigns, yet it was looked upon as a great reach in politics, thus to divide and ſhake almoſt all Peloponneſus, and to remove the war ſo far from the Athenian frontier, that even ſucceſs would profit the enemy but little ſhould they be conquerors; whereas, if they were defeated, Sparta itſelf would be hardly ſafe.

This defection of the confederates began to awaken the jealouſy of Sparta; they reſolved, therefore, to remedy the evil before it ſpread too far: wherefore, drawing out their whole force, both of citizens and ſlaves, and being joined by their allies, they encamped almoſt under the walls of Argos. The Argives having notice of their march, made all poſſible preparations, and came out with a full reſolution to fight them. But juſt as they were going to engage, two of their officers went over to Agis the Spartan king and general, and propoſed to him to have the buſineſs made up by a reference. He immediately cloſing with the offer, granted them a truce for four months, and drew off his army; the whole affair being tranſacted by theſe three, without any general conſent or knowledge on either ſide. The Peloponneſians, though they durſt not diſobey their orders, inveighed grievouſly againſt Agis for letting ſuch an advantage ſlip as they could never promiſe to themſelves again. For they had actually hemmed

in the enemy, and that with the beſt, if not the greateſt army, that ever was brought into the field. And the Argives were ſo little apprehenſive of danger on their ſide, that they were no leſs incenſed againſt their mediators, one of whom they forced to the altars to ſave his life, and confiſcated his goods.

Thus every thing ſeemed to favour the Athenian intereſt; and their proſperity, for this was the moſt flouriſhing period of their duration, blinded them to ſuch a degree, that they were perſuaded no power was able to reſiſt them. In this diſpoſition they reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of adding the iſland of Sicily to their empire; and an occaſion ſoon offered of executing their reſolution. Ambaſſadors were ſent from the people of Egeſta, who, in quality of their allies, came to implore their aid againſt the inhabitants of Selinuta, who were aſſiſted by the Syracuſans. They repreſented, among other things, that ſhould they be abandoned, the Syracuſans, after ſeizing their city, as they had done that of Leontium, would poſſeſs themſelves of all Sicily, and not fail to aid the Peloponneſians, who were their founders; and, that they might put them to as little charge as poſſible, they offered to pay the troops that ſhould be ſent to ſuccour them. The Athenians, who had long waited for an opportunity to declare themſelves,

ſelves, ſent deputies to Egeſta, to enquire into the ſtate of affairs, and to ſee whether there was money enough in the treaſury to defray the expence of ſo great a war. The inhabitants of that city had been ſo artful as to borrow from the neighbouring nations a great number of gold and ſilver vaſes, worth an immenſe ſum of money, and of theſe they made a ſhew when the Athenians arrived. The deputies returned with thoſe of Egeſta, who carried threeſcore talents in ingots, as a month's pay for the gallies which they demanded, and a promiſe of larger ſums, which they ſaid were ready both in the public treaſury and in the temples. The people ſtruck with theſe fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themſelves the leiſure to examine, and ſeduced with the advantageous reports which their deputies made by the view of pleaſing them, immediately granted the Egeſtans their demand, and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, to command the fleet, with full power not only to ſuccour Egeſta, and reſtore the inhabitants of Leontium to their city, but alſo to regulate the affairs of Sicily, in ſuch a manner as might beſt ſuit the intereſts of the republic. Nicias was appointed one of the generals to his very great regret; for, beſides other motives, which made him dread that command, he ſhunned it becauſe Alcibiades was to be his colleague. But the

Athenians

Athenians promised themselves greater success from this war, should they not resign the whole conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardour and audacity with the coldness and wisdom of Nicias. Nicias not daring to oppose Alcibiades openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by starting a great number of difficulties, drawn particularly from the great expence of this expedition. He declared, that since they were resolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in such a manner as might suit the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained. That a fleet was not sufficient to oppose so formidable a power as that of the Syracusans and their allies: that they must raise an army composed of good horse and foot, if they desired to act in a manner worthy of so noble a design: that, besides their fleet, which was to make them masters at sea, they must have a great number of transports to carry provisions perpetually to the army, which otherwise could not possibly subsist in an enemy's country: that they must carry vast sums of money with them, without waiting for that promised them by the citizens of Egesta, who perhaps were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promise: that they ought to weigh and examine the disparity there was between themselves and their enemies with regard to the conveniencies and wants of the army, the Syracusans being in

their own country, in the midſt of powerful allies, diſpoſed by inclination, as well as engaged by intereſt, to aſſiſt them with men, arms, horſes, and proviſions: whereas the Athenians would carry on the war in a remote country, poſſeſſed by their enemies, where, in the winter, news could not be brought them in leſs than four months time; a country where all things would oppoſe the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms: that it would reflect the greateſt ignominy on the Athenians, ſhould they be forced to abandon their enterprize, and thereby become the ſcorn and contempt of their enemies, by their neglecting to take all the precautions which ſo important a deſign required: that as for himſelf, he was determined not to go, unleſs he was provided with all things neceſſary for the expedition, becauſe the ſafety of the whole army depended on that circumſtance; and that he would not rely on caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies. Nicias had flattered himſelf, that this ſpeech would cool the ardour of the people; whereas it only inflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raiſe as many troops, and fit out as many gallies as they ſhould judge neceſſary; and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens, and other places, with inexpreſſible activity.

Before

Before we enter upon the narration of the important events that took place in the expedition to Sicily, it will be proper to say a few words respecting Syracuse, the capital of that island. About the year of the world 2920, Corinth had acquired considerable reputation as a maritime power. As the improvement of navigation generally leads to discovery, so it leads to commerce also, and to colonization. It had this effect on the Corinthians. They had not been long acquainted with Sicily, before they projected the scheme of peopling part of it with the natives of Peloponnesus. Archias, therefore, a descendant of Hercules, was sent with a fleet, furnished with every thing necessary for such an enterprize. He built and peopled Syracuse; which, from the peculiar advantages which it derived from its rich soil and capacious harbours, soon became the most flourishing city in Sicily: in size, indeed, and beauty, it yielded not to any city in Greece. It was long subject to Corinth, and governed by nearly the same laws. But as it increased in power, it became proud and insolent, and by degrees renounced its allegiance. To its emancipation are owing the occurrences which we are now to recite.

The levies being now prepared, the fleet set sail, after having appointed Corcyra the rendezvous for most of the allies, and such ships as were to

carry the provisions and warlike stores. All the citizens, as well as foreigners in Athens, flocked by day-break to the port of Pyræus. The former attended by their children, relations, friends, and companions, with a joy overcast with a little sorrow, upon their bidding adieu to persons that were as dear to them as life; who were setting out on a distant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they would ever return, though they flattered themselves with the hopes that it would be successful. The foreigners came thither, to feed their eyes with a sight which was highly worthy their curiosity; for no single city in the world had ever fitted out so gallant a fleet. Those indeed which had been sent against Epidaurus and Potidæa, were as considerable with regard to the number of soldiers and ships, but then they were not equipped with so much magnificence, neither was their voyage so long, nor their enterprize so important. Here were seen a land and a naval army provided with the utmost care, and at the expence of particular persons, as well as of the public, with all things necessary on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furnished an hundred empty gallies, that is, threescore light ones, and forty to transport the soldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a drachma, or ten pence English, for his

pay,

pay, exclufively of what the captains of fhips gave the rowers of the firft bench. Add to this, the pomp and magnificence that was difplayed univerfally; every one ftriving to eclipfe the reft, and each endeavouring to make his fhip the lighteft, and, at the fame time, the gayeft in the whole fleet. I fhall not take notice of the choice of the foldiers or feamen, who were the flower of the Athenians, nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatnefs of their arms and equipage, any more than of their officers, who had laid out confiderable fums purely to diftinguifh themfelves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their perfons and circumftances; fo that this fight had the idea of a pageant, in which the utmoft magnificence was difplayed, rather than of a warlike expedition. But the boldnefs and greatnefs of the defign ftill exceeded its expence and fplendor.

When the fhips were loaded, and the troops got on board, the trumpet founded, and folemn prayers were offered up for the fuccefs of the expedition; gold and filver cups were filling every where with wine, and the accuftomed libations were poured out: the people who lined the fhore fhouting, at the fame time, and lifting up their hands to heaven to wifh their fellow-citizens a good voyage and fuccefs. And now the hymn being fung, and the ceremonies ended, the fhips failed one after

another out of the harbour, after which they ſtrove to outſail one another, till the whole fleet met at Ægina. From thence it made to Corcyra, where the army of the allies was aſſembled with the reſt of the fleet.

Being now arrived at Sicily, the generals were divided in their opinions as to the place where they ſhould make a deſcent. Lamachus, one of the generals, was for making directly for Syracuſe. He urged, that it was as yet unprovided, and under the greateſt conſternation; that an army was always moſt terrible on its approach, before the enemy had time to recollect and make danger familiar: theſe reaſons, however, were over-ruled. It was agreed to reduce the ſmaller cities firſt; when having detached ten gallies only to take a view of the ſituation and harbour of Syracuſe, they landed with the reſt of their forces, and ſurprized Catana.

In the mean time, the enemies of Alcibiades had taken occaſion from his abſence, to attack him with redoubled vigour. They aggravated his miſconduct in neglecting the proper method of attack, and enforced their accuſation, by alledging, that he had profaned the myſteries of Ceres. This was ſufficient to induce the giddy multitude to recal their general; but, for fear of raiſing a tumult in the army, they only ſent him orders to return to Athens, to pacify the people by his preſence. Al-

cibiades

cibiades obeyed the orders with ſeeming ſubmiſſion; but reflecting on the inconſtancy and caprice of his judges, the inſtant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on ſhore, he diſappeared, and eluded the purſuit of thoſe who ſought after him: the galley, therefore, returned without him, and the people in a rage condemned him to death for his contumacy. His whole eſtate was confiſcated, and all the orders of religion were commanded to curſe him. Some time after, news being brought him that the Athenians had condemned him to death; I hope one day, ſaid he, to make them ſenſible that I am ſtill alive.

The Syracuſans had by this time put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and finding that Nicias did not advance towards them, they talked of attacking him in his camp; and ſome of them aſked, in a ſcoffing way, Whether he was come into Sicily to ſettle at Catana? He was rouzed by this inſult, and reſolved to make the beſt of his way to Syracuſe. He durſt not attempt it by land for want of cavalry, and he thought it equally hazardous to make a deſcent by ſea upon an enemy who was ſo well prepared to receive him: however, he choſe the latter way, and ſucceeded in it by a ſtratagem. He had gained a citizen of Catana to go as a deſerter to the Syracuſans, and to inform them, that the Athenians lay every night in the town without

their

their arms; and that early in the morning, on a certain day appointed, they might ſurprize them, ſeize on their camp with all their arms and baggage, burn their fleet in the harbour, and deſtroy the whole army. The Syracuſans gave credit to him, and marched with all their forces towards Catana; which Nicias had no ſooner notice of, but he embarked his troops, and ſteering away for Syracuſe, landed them there the next morning, and fortified himſelf in the outſkirts of the town. The Syracuſans were ſo provoked at this trick being put upon them, that they immediately returned to Syracuſe, and preſented themſelves without the walls in order of battle. Nicias marched out of his trenches to meet them, and a very ſharp action enſued, wherein, at length, the Athenians got the better, and forced the enemy back to the city, after having killed two hundred and ſixty of them and their confederates, with the loſs of fifty of their own men. They were not as yet in a condition to attack the city, and therefore took up their winter-quarters at Catana and Naxus.

The year following greater projects were undertaken; for having received a ſupply of horſe from Athens, with proviſions, and other ſtores of war, Nicias ſet ſail for Syracuſe, in order to block it up by ſea and land. In this manner did the little ſtate of Athens ſpread terror among all the neigh-

bouring

bouring ſtates, and now riſen to its utmoſt height, began to aſpire at univerſal empire. Athens had already been the miſtreſs of arts and philoſophy, it now, with inverted ambition, aimed at ſetting mankind an example of the arts of conqueſt and of war: but they had never conſidered that a petty ſtate, raiſed artificially into power, is liable to a thouſand accidents in its way to univerſal conqueſt. They had now ſent out their whole force into Sicily, and, while they fought to decide the fate of Syracuſe, they were in fact contending for their own; the exiſtence of Athens and Syracuſe depended ſo much on the event of the preſent invaſion, that both ſides fought with the utmoſt perſeverance, and hiſtorians have been minute in the detail.

The ſiege was now carried on in a more regular and ſkilful manner than had ever been practiſed before, and men were taught a new leſſon, as well in the arts of attack as of defence. Nicias found it neceſſary, in the firſt place, to gain Epipolæ, an high hill which commanded the city, and had a ſteep craggy paſſage up to it. The Syracuſans were ſo ſenſible of the importance of this poſt, that they had ordered a detachment of ſeven hundred men to march upon a ſignal given to the defence of it. But Nicias had landed his men in a little remote harbour ſo ſecretly and ſo ſuddenly, that

they

they eaſily made themſelves maſters of it. And the ſeven hundred running up from the plains in a confuſed manner to diſpoſſeſs them, were repulſed with the loſs of three hundred of them and their leader. Nicias built a fort there, as a magazine, and proceeded to inveſt the town on the land ſide, ſo as to prevent any communication with the country. The enemy endeavouring to defeat his works, and render them uſeleſs, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued, wherein the Athenians had generally the better: but, in one of them, Lamachus being preſſed hard, and abandoned by his men, was killed. The Syracuſans being ſtill intent on the recovery of Epipolæ, ordered up another detachment thither. Nicias was at this time ſick in the fort, and in bed, with only his ſervants about him. But when he found the enemy were forcing his intrenchments, he got up and ſet fire to the engines, and other wood that lay ſcattered about the fort; which had ſo good an effect, that it ſerved as a ſignal to his own troops to come up to his relief; and ſo terrified and confounded thoſe of the enemy, that they retreated into the city. From thenceforth Nicias, who was now ſole general, conceived great hopes; for ſeveral cities of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either ſide, came and joined him; and there arrived from all quarters veſſels laden with proviſions for his army,

all

all parties being eager to go over to him, becauſe he had acquired the ſuperiority, and been exceedingly ſucceſsful in all his undertakings. The Syracuſans ſeeing themſelves blocked up both by ſea and land, and loſing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, already propoſed an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their aſſiſtance, having heard in his paſſage the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole iſland as loſt, ſailed forward nevertheleſs, not in the view of defending Sicily, but only to preſerve to the nations of Italy ſuch cities as were ſubject to them in that iſland, if it were not too late, and it could be done; for fame had declared in all places, that the Athenians had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole iſland, and were headed by a general whoſe wiſdom and good fortune rendered him invincible.

The fortifications of the Athenians were now almoſt completed, they had drawn a double wall, near half a league in length, along the plain and the fens towards the great port, and had almoſt reached it. There now remained on one ſide only a ſmall part of the wall to be finiſhed, and the Syracuſans were upon the brink of ruin; they had no hopes left; they were unable to defend themſelves, and they knew not where to look for

 ſuccours;

ſuccours; for this reaſon, they reſolved to ſurrender, and a council was held to ſettle the articles of capitulation which were to be preſented to Nicias.

It was at that very inſtant, and in this moſt diſtreſsful juncture, that a meſſenger arrived at Syracuſe from Corinth, with news of ſpeedy relief. The whole body of citizens flocked round the meſſenger of ſuch welcome information. He gave them to underſtand, that Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian general, would be with them immediately, and was followed by a great many other gallies which came to his aid. The Syracuſans aſtoniſhed, or rather ſtupefied as it were with this news, could ſcarce believe what they heard. Whilſt they were thus fluctuating and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus to inform them of his approach, and ordered them to march over all their troops to meet him. He himſelf, after taking a fort in his way, marched in order of battle directly for Epipolæ, and aſcending by Euryclus, as the Athenians had done, he prepared to attack them from without, whilſt the Syracuſans ſhould charge them on their ſide with the forces of Syracuſe. The Athenians, exceedingly ſurprized by his arrival, drew up haſtily, and without order under the wall; with regard to himſelf, laying down his arms when he approached, he ſent word by a herald, that he

would

would allow the Athenians five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condefcend to make the leaft anfwer to this propofal; and fome of his foldiers burfting out a laughing, afked the herald, whether the prefence of a Lacedæmonian privateer, and the trifling wand of an herald, could make any change in the prefent ftate of the city? Both fides, therefore, prepared for battle.

Gylippus began by ftorming the fort of Labdalla, and cutting in pieces all who were found in it. The Athenians, in the mean time, were not idle in forming intrenchments to oppofe him, while the befieged were equally affiduous in cutting down and breaking through thofe walls and circumvallations which were carried round their city. At length, both fides drew up their forces in order of battle, between the walls which the Athenians had raifed to keep off the enemy. In the firft engagement, the cavalry of Gylippus being rendered ufelefs from the narrownefs of the place, to re-animate his foldiers, by doing them juftice, he had the courage to reproach himfelf for the ill fuccefs they had met with, and to declare publicly, that he, not they, had occafioned the late defeat, becaufe he had made them fight in too narrow a fpot of ground. However, he promifed foon to give them an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his; and, accordingly, the very next

day he led them againſt the enemy, after having exhorted them in the ſtrongeſt terms to behave in a manner worthy of their ancient glory. Nicias perceiving, that though it ſhould not be his deſire to come to a battle, it would, however, be abſolutely neceſſary for him to prevent the enemy from extending their line beyond the contravallation, to which they were already very near (becauſe otherwiſe this would be granting them a certain victory) therefore marched boldly againſt the Syracuſans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond that place where the walls terminated on both ſides, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his battle; upon which, charging the enemy's left wing with his horſe, he put it to flight, and ſoon after defeated their right. We have an inſtance of what the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing; for Gylippus, with the ſame men, the ſame arms, the ſame horſes, and the ſame ground, by only changing his order of battle, defeated the Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night the victors carried on their wall beyond the contravallation of the Athenians, and thereby deprived them of all hopes of being ever able to ſurround the city. Nicias had, ever ſince the arrival of Gylippus, been put upon the defenſive; and, as he daily loſt ground in the country, he retired

retired towards the ſea, to keep that open in caſe of accidents, and to bring in proviſions. For this purpoſe, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Plemmyrium, near the great harbour, where he built three forts, and kept up himſelf as it were in garriſon. Gylippus took this opportunity to gain over the inland cities; and, at the ſame time, the fleet which was expected from Corinth arrived. Nicias, under theſe circumſtances, wrote a very melancholy account of his affairs to Athens; that the enemy were become ſo ſuperior to him, that he was not in a condition to force intrenchments; and, that inſtead of beſieging them, he was now beſieged himſelf; that the towns revolted from him; the ſlaves and mercenaries deſerted; that his troops were employed in guarding the forts and fetching in proviſions, and that in this latter ſervice many of them were cut off by the enemy's horſe. That the fleet was in as bad a condition as the army; and that, in ſhort, without a ſpeedy reinforcement of men, ſhips, and money, equal to what he had at firſt ſet out with, it was in vain to attempt any thing farther: then, as to his own particular, he complained of his being troubled with ſharp nephritic pains, which rendered him incapable of going on with the ſervice; and, therefore, preſſed to be recalled. The Athenians were ſo affected with this letter, that they named Eurymedon and

Demosthenes to go over with fresh supplies; the former immediately with ten gallies, and the other early in the spring with a stronger force. At the same time, they appointed Menander and Euthydemus to act as assistants to Nicias, but would not grant his request of coming home. In the mean time, Gylippus, who had made the tour of Sicily, returned with as many men as he could raise in the whole island, and prevailed with the Syracusans to fit out the strongest fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at sea, upon the presumption that the success would answer the greatness of the enterprize. This advice was strongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracusans not to abandon to their enemies the empire of the seas. He observed, that the Athenians themselves had not received it from their ancestors, nor been always possessed of it; that the Persian war had in a manner forced them into the knowledge of naval affairs, notwithstanding two great obstacles, their disposition, and the situation of their city, which stood at a considerable distance from the sea: that they had made themselves formidable to other nations, not so much by their real strength, as by their courage and intrepidity: that they ought to copy them; and since they had to do with enemies who were so enterprizing, it was fit they should be equally daring.

This advice was approved, and according, large fleet was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land forces in the night-time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty-five gallies of Syracuse, which were in the great harbour, and forty-five in the lesser, where was an arsenal for ships, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium, to amaze the Athenians, who would find themselves attacked both by sea and land at the same time. The Athenians at this news went on board also, and with twenty-five ships sailed to fight the thirty-five Syracusan vessels, which were sailing out of the great harbour, and opposed thirty-five more to the forty-five of the enemy which were come out of the little port. A sharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great harbour, one party endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Those who defended the ports of Plemmyrium having flocked to the shore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by day-break; and having carried the greatest of them by storm, the soldiers who defended the other two, were so terrified, that they abandoned them in a moment. After this advantage the Syracusans sustained a considerable loss; for such of their vessels as fought at the entrance of the harbour (after having forced the Athenians) drove furiously one

 against

ift the other, as they entered it in diſorder; and, by this means, ſhifted the victory to their enemies; who not contented with purſuing, alſo gave chace to thoſe who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracuſan gallies were ſunk, and great numbers of the ſailors in them killed. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewiſe loſt three, and after towing off thoſe of the enemy, they raiſed a trophy in a little iſland lying before Plemmyrium, and retired to the center of their camp.

One circumſtance which the beſieged conſidered of the greateſt importance, was to attempt a ſecond engagement both by ſea and land, before the fleet and other ſuccours ſent by the Athenians ſhould arrive. They had concerted freſh meaſures for a battle at ſea, by improving from the errors they had committed in the laſt engagement. The change made in the gallies was, that their prows were now ſhorter, and, at the ſame time, ſtronger and more ſolid than before. For this purpoſe, they fixed great pieces of timber projecting forward on each ſide of the prows, and to theſe pieces they joined beams by way of props. The beams extended to the length of ſix cubits on each ſide of the veſſel both within and without. By this they hoped to gain an advantage over the gallies of the Athenians, which did not dare, becauſe of

the weakneſs of their prows, to attack an enemy in front, but only in flank; not to mention, that ſhould the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to ſpread themſelves, nor to paſs between two gallies, in which lay their greateſt art, nor to tack about after they ſhould have been repulſed, in order to return to the charge; whereas the Syracuſans, by their being maſters of the whole extent of the harbour, would have all theſe advantages, and might reciprocally aſſiſt one another. On theſe circumſtances the latter founded their hopes of victory.

Gylippus, therefore, firſt drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city, whilſt the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their gallies ſet ſail.

Nicias did not care to venture a ſecond battle, ſaying, that as he expected a freſh fleet every moment, and a great reinforcement under Demoſthenes, it would betray the greateſt want of judgment, ſhould he, as his troops were inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle without being forced to it. On the contrary, Menander and Euthydemus, who had juſt before been appointed to ſhare the command with Nicias till the arrival of Demoſthenes, fired with ambition, and jealous of thoſe

generals,

generals, were eager to perform ſome great exploit, to bereave the one of his glory, and if poſſible eclipſe that of the other. The pretence they alledged on this occaſion was, the fame and reputation of Athens; and they aſſerted with ſo much vehemence, that it would be entirely deſtroyed ſhould they ſhun the battle as the Syracuſans offered it them, that they at laſt forced Nicias to a compliance. The Athenians had ſeventy-five gallies, and the Syracuſans eighty.

The firſt day the fleets continued in ſight of each other, in the great harbour, without engaging, and only a few ſkirmiſhes paſſed, after which both parties retired; while the land forces acted in the ſame manner. The Syracuſans did not make the leaſt motion the ſecond day. Nicias, taking advantage of this inactivity, cauſed the tranſports to draw up in a line at ſome diſtance from one another, in order that his gallies might retire behind them with ſafety, in caſe he ſhould be defeated. On the morrow the Syracuſans came up ſooner than uſual, when a great part of the day was ſpent in ſkirmiſhing, after which they retired. The Athenians did not ſuppoſe they would return, but imagined that fear would make them fly. But having refreſhed themſelves in great haſte, and returning on board their gallies, they attacked the Athenians, who were far from expecting them.

The

The latter being now forced to return immediately on board their ſhips, they entered them in great diſorder; ſo that they had not time to draw them up in a line of battle, and moſt of the ſailors were faſting. Victory did not long continue in ſuſpenſe. The Athenians, after making a ſhort and ſlight reſiſtance, retired behind their line of tranſports. The enemy purſued them thither, but were ſtopped by the yards of thoſe ſhips, to which were fixed dolphins of lead; theſe being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's gallies, would have ſunk them at once. The Athenians loſt ſeven gallies in this engagement, and a great number of ſoldiers were either killed or taken priſoners.

This loſs threw Nicias into the utmoſt conſternation: all the misfortunes he had met with ever ſince the time he had enjoyed the ſupreme command, came into his mind, and he was now involved in a greater than any of them, by complying with the advice of his colleagues. Whilſt he was revolving theſe gloomy ideas, Demoſthenes's fleet was ſeen coming forward in great pomp, and with ſuch an air as might fill the enemy with dread. It was now the day after the battle. This fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-three gallies, on board of which were five thouſand fighting men, and about three thouſand archers, ſlingers, and bowmen.

All

All these gallies were richly trimmed, their prows being adorned with shining streamers, manned with stout rowers, commanded by good officers, and echoing with the sound of clarions and trumpets; Demosthenes having affected an air of pomp and triumph purposely, to strike terror into the enemy.

This gallant sight alarmed them indeed beyond expression. They did not see any end, or even the least suspension of their calamities. All they had hitherto done or suffered was as nothing, and their work was to begin again. What hopes could they entertain of being able to weary out the patience of the Athenians, since, though they had a camp intrenched in the middle of Attica, they were however able to send a second army into Sicily as considerable as the former; and that their power, as well as their courage, seemed, notwithstanding all their losses, instead of diminishing, to increase daily.

Demosthenes having made an exact enquiry into the state of things, imagined it would not be proper for him to lose time as Nicias had done; who having spread an universal terror at his first arrival, became afterwards an object of contempt for his having wintered in Catana, instead of going directly to Syracuse, and had afterwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throwing troops into it.

it. He flattered himſelf with the hopes that he ſhould be able to carry the city at the firſt attack, by taking advantage of the alarm which the news of his arrival would ſpread in every part of it, and by that means would immediately put an end to the war; otherwiſe he intended to raiſe the ſiege, and no longer harraſs and leſſen the troops by fighting battles never deciſive, nor quite exhauſt the city of Athens, by employing its treaſures in needleſs expences.

Nicias, terrified by this bold and precipitate reſolution of Demoſthenes, conjured him not to be ſo haſty, but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cauſe to repent of what he ſhould do. He obſerved to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their proviſions as well as money were entirely exhauſted; that their allies were going to abandon them; that they muſt ſoon be reduced to ſuch extremity for want of proviſions, as would force them to ſurrender, as they had before reſolved: for there were certain perſons in Syracuſe, who held a ſecret correſpondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient, becauſe the Syracuſans were tired with the war and with Gylippus; and that ſhould the neceſſity to which they were reduced be ever ſo little increaſed, they would ſurrender at diſcretion.

As

As Nicias did not explain himſelf clearly, and would not declare in expreſs terms that ſure and certain advices were ſent him of whatever was tranſacted in the city, his remonſtrances were conſidered as an effect of the timidity and flowneſs with which he had always been reproached. Such, ſaid they, are his uſual protractions, delays, diſtruſts, and fearful precaution, whereby he has deadened all the vivacity, and extinguiſhed all the ardour of the troops, in not marching them immediately againſt the enemy; but, on the contrary, by deferring to attack them till his own forces were weakened and deſpiſed. This made the reſt of the generals, and all the officers, come over to Demoſthenes's opinion, and Nicias himſelf was at laſt forced to acquieſce in it.

Demoſthenes, after having attacked to no purpoſe the wall which cut the contravallation of the beſiegers, confined himſelf to the attack of Epipolæ, from a ſuppoſition, that ſhould he once be maſter of it, the wall would be quite undefended. He, therefore, took proviſions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing neceſſary for him to defend that poſt after he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of it. As there was no going up to it in the day-time undiſcovered, he marched thither in the night with all his forces, followed by Eurymedon and Menander; Nicias ſtaying behind to guard

the camp. They went up by the way of Euryelus, as before, unperceived by the centinels, attacked the first intrenchment, and stormed it, after killing part of those who defended it. Demosthenes, not satisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardour of his troops from cooling, and not to delay the execution of his design, marches forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, sustained by Gylippus, marched under arms out of the intrenchments. Being seized with astonishment, which the darkness of the night increased, they were immediately repulsed, and put to flight. But, as the Athenians advanced in disorder, to force whatever might resist their arms, lest the enemy might rally again, should time be allowed them to breathe and recover from their surprize, they are stopped on a sudden by the Bœotians, who make a vigorous stand, and marching against the Athenians with their pikes presented, they repulse them with great shouts, and make a dreadful slaughter. This spreads an universal terror through the rest of the army. Those who fled, either force along such as were advancing to their assistance, or else mistaking them for enemies, turn their arms against them. They now were all mixed indiscriminately, it being impossible to discover objects in the horrors of a night, which was not so gloomy as entirely to make objects imperceptible, nor yet

light

light enough to diſtinguiſh thoſe which were ſeen. The Athenians ſought for one another to no purpoſe, and from their often aſking the word, by which only they were able to know one another, a ſtrange confuſion of ſounds was heard, which occaſioned no little diſorder; not to mention, that they by this means divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; becauſe, by their being together, and in a body, they had no occaſion to repeat it. In the mean time, thoſe who were purſued threw themſelves from the top of the rocks, and many were daſhed to pieces by the fall; and as moſt of thoſe who eſcaped, ſtraggled from one another up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horſe who purſued them. Two thouſand Athenians were ſlain in this engagement, and a great number of arms were taken; thoſe who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to eſcape over the precipices. Soon after Gylippus, having made the tour of Sicily, brought a great number of troops with him, which rendered the affairs of Athens ſtill more deſperate, and deprived Nicias of all hopes of ſucceſs; beſides, the Athenian army now began to diminiſh exceedingly by ſickneſs, and nothing was ſeen to remain but their quitting an iſland, in which they had experienced every mortification. Nicias

no longer oppofed the refolution, and only defired to have it kept fecret. Orders were, therefore, given as privately as poffible, for the fleet to prepare for fetting fail with the utmoft expedition.

When all things were ready, the moment they were going to fet fail (wholly unfufpected by the enemy, who were far from furmifing they would leave Sicily fo foon) the moon was fuddenly eclipfed in the middle of the night, and loft all its fplendour, which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who from ignorance and fuperftition, were aftonifhed at fo fudden a change, the caufes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the confequences of it. They then confulted the foothfayers, who, being equally unacquainted with the reafons of this phænomenon, only augmented their confternation. It was the cuftom, after fuch accidents had happened, to fufpend their enterprize but for three days. The foothfayers pronounced, that he muft not fail till nine times three days were paft, (thefe were Thucydides' words) which doubtlefs was a myfterious number in the opinion of the people. Nicias, fcrupulous to a fault, and full of a miftaken veneration for thofe blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not return till the fame day of the next month, as if he had not feen the planet very clearly, the

instant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the interposition of the earth's body.

But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians soon spread over the city; a resolution was taken to attack the besiegers both by sea and land. The Syracusans began the first day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a slight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a second attack, and, at the same time, sailed with seventy-six gallies against eighty-six of the Athenian. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having spread along the shore to surround them, this movement proved fatal to him; for, as he was detached from the body of the fleet, the Syracusans, after forcing the main battle, which was in the center, attacked him, drove him vigorously into the gulf called Dascon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon lost his life in the engagement. They afterwards gave chace to the rest of the gallies, and run them against the shore. Gylippus, who commanded the land army, seeing the Athenian gallies were forced a-ground, and not able to return into the stoccado, landed with part of his troops, in order to charge the soldiers, in case they should be forced to run ashore, and give his friends the more room to tow such gallies as they should have taken; however, he was repulsed by

by the Tyrrhenians, who were posted on that side, and obliged by the Athenians, who flew to sustain them, to retire with some loss, as far as a moor which lay near it. The latter saved most of their ships, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracusans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, resolving to burn the rest, they filled an old vessel with combustible materials, and having set fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind against the Athenians, who nevertheless extinguished the fire, and drove off that ship; each side erected trophies, the Syracusans for the death of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before, and the Athenians for their having driven part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently disposed; the Syracusans, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation at the arrival of Demosthenes with his fleet, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, resumed fresh hope, and assured themselves of a complete victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, frustrated of their only resource, and overcome at sea, so contrary to their expectations, entirely lost courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring.

The enemy, to deprive them of all resource, and prevent their escaping, shut the mouth of the

great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with gallies placed crofs-wife, and other veffels, fixed with anchors and iron chains, and, at the fame time, made the requifite preparations for a battle, in cafe they fhould have courage to engage again. When the Athenians faw themfelves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers affembled, in order to deliberate on the prefent ftate of affairs. They were in abfolute want of provifions, which was owing to their having forbid the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire, and they could not procure any from other places unlefs they were mafters of the fea; this made them refolve to venture a fea-fight. In this view they were determined to leave their old camp and their walls, and to entrench themfelves on the fhore near their fhips, in the fmalleft compafs poffible; their defign was to leave fome forces in that place to guard their baggage and the fick, and to fight with the reft aboard all the fhips they fhould have faved. They intended to retire into Catana in cafe they fhould be victorious, otherwife to fet fire to their fhips, and to march by land to the neareft city belonging to their allies.

This refolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled an hundred and ten gallies (the others having loft their oars) with the flower of his infantry,

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and drew up the reſt of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle on the ſhore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracuſan gallies, Nicias had provided harping-irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to cloſe fight as on ſhore. But the enemy perceiving this, covered the prows and upper part of their gallies with leather, to prevent their being ſo eaſily laid hold of. The commanders on both ſides had employed all their rhetoric to animate their men, and none could ever have been prompted with ſtronger motives, for the battle which was going to be fought was to determine not only their lives and liberties, but alſo the fate of their country.

This battle was very obſtinate and bloody. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, eaſily took thoſe ſhips which defended the entrance of it; but when they attempted to break the chain of the reſt, to widen the paſſage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near two hundred gallies came ruſhing on each ſide in a narrow place, there muſt neceſſarily be a very great confuſion, and the veſſels could not eaſily advance forward, or retire, or turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the gallies, for this reaſon, did very little execution; but there were very furious and frequent diſcharges. The Athenians were overwhelmed

with a ſhower of ſtones, which always did execution from what place ſoever they were thrown; whereas they defended themſelves by only ſhooting darts and arrows, which by the motion of the ſhips, from the agitation of the ſea, did not carry true, and by that means the greateſt part of them did little execution. Ariſton, the pilot, had given the Syracuſans this counſel. Theſe diſcharges being over, the ſoldiers heavily armed attempted to enter the enemy's ſhips, in order to fight hand to hand; and it often happened, that whilſt they were climbing up one ſide, their own ſhips were entered on the other, and two or three ſhips were grappled to one, which occaſioned a great perplexity and confuſion. Farther, the noiſe of the ſhips that daſhed one againſt the other, the different cries of the victors and vanquiſhed, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard. The Athenians wanted to force a paſſage, whatever might be the conſequence, to ſecure their return into their own country; and this the enemy employed their utmoſt efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more compleat and more glorious victory. The two land armies, which were drawn up on the higheſt part of the ſhore, and the inhabitants of the city who were there, ran to the walls, whilſt the reſt kneeling in the temples, were imploring heaven to give ſucceſs to their fellow-citizens; all

theſe

these saw clearly, because of their little distance from the fleets, every thing that passed, and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terror. Attentive to, and shuddering at every movement, and the several changes which happened, they discovered the concern they had in the battle, their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries and different gestures; stretching out their hands sometimes towards the combatants, to animate them, at other times towards heaven, to implore the succour and protection of the gods. At last the Athenian fleet, after sustaining a long battle and a vigorous resistance, was put to flight, and drove against the shore. The Syracusans, who were spectators of this victory, conveyed the news to the whole city by an universal shout. The victors, now masters of the sea, and sailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuse, erected a trophy, whilst the Athenians, who were quite dejected and overpowered, did not so much as request that their dead soldiers might be delivered to them, in order to pay the last sad duty to their remains.

There now remained but two methods for them to chuse, either to attempt the passage a second time, for which they had ships and soldiers sufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and retire by land. Demosthenes proposed the for-

mer; but the sailors, in the deepest affliction, refused to obey, fully persuaded that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. The second method was, therefore, resolved upon; and accordingly they prepared to set out in the night, to conceal the march of their army from the enemy.

But Hermocrates, who suspected their design, was very sensible that it was of the utmost importance not to suffer so great a body of forces to escape, since they otherwise might fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and renew the war. The Syracusans were at that time in the midst of their festivity and rejoicings, and meditating nothing but how they might divert themselves after the toils they had sustained in fight. They were then solemnizing the festival of Hercules. To desire the Syracusans to take up arms again in order to pursue the enemy, and to attempt to draw them from their diversions, either by force or persuasion, would have been to no purpose; for which reason, another expedient was employed. Hermocrates sent out a few horsemen, who were to pass for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud, Tell Nicias not to retire till day-light, for the Syracusans lie in ambush for him, and have seized on their passes. This false advice stopped Nicias at once, and he did not

even

even ſet out the next day, in order that the ſoldiers might have more time to prepare for their departure, and carry off whatever might be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and abandon the reſt.

The enemy had time enough for ſeizing the avenues. The next morning early they poſſeſſed themſelves of the moſt difficult paſſes, fortified thoſe places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and ſpread detachments of horſe up and down the plain, ſo that there was not one place which the Athenians could paſs without fighting. They ſet out upon their march the third day after the battle, with a deſign to retire to Catana. The whole army was in an inexpreſſible conſternation, to ſee ſuch a great number of men either dead, or dying, ſome of whom were left expoſed to wild beaſts, and the reſt to the cruelty of the enemy. Thoſe who were ſick and wounded conjured them with tears, to take them along with the army, and held by their clothes when they were going, or elſe crawling after them, followed them as far as their ſtrength would permit; and, when this failed, had recourſe to tears, ſighs, imprecations, and ſending up toward heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods, as well as men, to avenge their cruelty, whilſt every place echoed with lamentations.

The whole army was in a deplorable condition. All the Athenians were feized with the deepeft melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with rage and anguifh, when they reprefented to themfelves the greatnefs from which they were fallen, the extreme mifery to which they were reduced, and the ftill greater evils from which they forefaw it would be impoffible for them to efcape. They could not bear the comparifon for ever prefent in their thoughts, of the triumphant ftate in which they had left Athens, in the midft of the good wifhes and acclamations of the people, with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow-citizens.

But the moft melancholy part of the fpectacle, and that which moft deferved compaffion, was Nicias, dejected and worn out by a tedious illnefs, deprived of the moft neceffary comforts at a time when his age and infirmities required them moft, pierced not only with his private grief, but with that of others, all which preyed upon his mind. However, this great man, fuperior to all his evils, thought of nothing but how he might beft comfort his foldiers, and revive their courage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud, that their fituation was not yet defperate, and that other armies had efcaped from greater dangers; that they ought not to accufe themfelves, or grieve

too

too immoderately for misfortunes which they had not occasioned; that if they had offended some god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them; that their bravery and their numbers made them still formidable (being still near forty thousand strong;) that no city in Sicily would be able to withstand them, nor prevent their settling wherever they might think proper; that they had no more to do but to take care severally of themselves, and march in good order; that by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they would not only save themselves, but also their country, and enable it to recover its former grandeur.

The army marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx, the first being commanded by Nicias, and the second by Demosthenes, with the baggage in the center. Being come to the river Anapis, they forced their passage, and afterwards were charged by the enemy's cavalry, as well as archers, who discharged perpetually upon them. They were annoyed in this manner during several days march, every one of the passes being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to dispute every inch of their way. The enemy did not care to hazard a battle against an army which

which deſpair alone might render invincible; and the inſtant the Athenians preſented the Syracuſans battle the latter retired; but whenever the former proceeded in their march, they advanced and charged them in their retreat.

Demoſthenes and Nicias ſeeing the miſerable condition to which the troops were reduced, being in extreme want of proviſions, and great numbers of them wounded, judged it adviſeable to retire towards the ſea by a quite contrary way from that in which they then marched, and to make directly for Camarina and Gela, inſtead of proceeding to Catana, as they firſt intended. They ſet out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confuſion and diſorder, as generally happens to great armies in the gloomy horrors of the night, eſpecially when the enemy is not far off. However, the van-guard commanded by Nicias, went forward in good order, but above half the rear-guard, with Demoſthenes at their head, quitted from the main body, and loſt their way. On the next day the Syracuſans, who, on the report of their retreat, had marched with the utmoſt diligence, came up with Demoſthenes about noon, and having ſurrounded him with their horſe, drove him into a narrow place incloſed with a wall, where his ſoldiers fought like lions. Perceiving at the cloſe of the day, that they were

oppreſſed

oppreſſed with fatigue, and coverèd with wounds, the conquering Syracuſans gave the iſlanders leave to retire, which ſome of them accepted, and they afterwards ſpared the lives of the reſt who ſurrendered at diſcretion, with Demoſthenes, after having ſtipulated that they ſhould not be put to death, nor ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment. About ſix thouſand ſoldiers ſurrendered on theſe conditions.

Nicias arrived the ſame evening at the river Erineus, and paſſing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and ſummoned him to ſurrender at diſcretion, as Demoſthenes had done. Nicias could not perſuade himſelf at firſt that what they told him concerning Demoſthenes was true; and, therefore, deſired leave to ſend ſome horſe for information. Upon their returning with the news that Demoſthenes had really ſurrendered in that manner, Nicias offered to pay the expences of the war, upon condition they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hoſtages as they ſhould be obliged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this propoſal with diſdain and inſolence, and renewed the attack. Nicias, though in abſolute want of all things, however ſuſtained the charge the whole night, and marched towards the river Aſinarus. When they

were got to the banks of it, the Syracuſans advancing up to them, threw moſt of them into the ſtream, the reſt already having plunged voluntarily into it, to quench their thirſt. Here the greateſt and moſt bloody havock was made, the poor wretches being butchered without the leaſt pity, as they were drinking. Nicias finding all loſt, and unable to bear this diſmal ſpectacle, ſurrendered at diſcretion, upon condition that Gylippus ſhould diſcontinue the fight, and ſpare the reſt of his army. A great number were killed, and more taken priſoners, ſo that all Sicily was filled with them. The Athenians ſeemed to have been diſpleaſed with their general for ſurrendering in this manner at diſcretion; and, for this reaſon, his name was omitted in a public monument, on which was engraved the names of thoſe commanders who had loſt their lives in fighting for their country.

The victors, adorned with the arms taken from the priſoners, the fineſt and largeſt trees they could find on the banks of the rivers, and made a kind of trophies of thoſe trees, when crowning themſelves with chaplets of flowers, dreſſing their horſes in the richeſt caparifons, and cropping thoſe of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuſe, after having happily terminated the moſt conſiderable war in which they had ever been engaged

gaged with the Greeks, and won by their ſtrength and valour a moſt ſignal and complete victory.

The next day a council was held, to deliberate on what was to be done with the priſoners. Diocles, one of the leaders of greateſt authority among the people, propoſed that all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all ſuch Sicilians as had joined with them, ſhould be impriſoned, and only two meaſures of flour and one of water given them daily; that the ſlaves and all the allies ſhould be publicly ſold; and that the two Athenian generals ſhould be firſt ſcourged with rods, and afterwards put to death.

This laſt article was exceedingly diſliked by all wiſe and compaſſionate Syracuſans. Hermocrates, who was very famous for his probity and juſtice, attempted to make ſome remonſtrances to the people, but they would not hear him, and the ſhouts which echoed on all ſides prevented him from continuing his ſpeech. At that inſtant an ancient man, venerable for his great age and gravity, who in this war had loſt two ſons, the only heirs to his name and eſtate, made his ſervants carry him to the tribunal for harangues, and the inſtant he appeared a profound ſilence was made. "You here behold, ſays he, an unfortunate father, who has felt more than any other Syracuſan the fatal effects of this war, by the death of two ſons, who

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formed all the consolation, and were the only supports of my old age. I cannot, indeed, forbear admiring their courage and felicity, in sacrificing to their country's welfare a life of which they would one day have been deprived by the common course of nature: but then I cannot but be strongly affected with the cruel wound which their death has made in my heart, nor forbear hating and detesting the Athenians, the authors of this unhappy war, as the murderers of my children; but, however, I cannot conceal one circumstance, which is, that I am less sensible of my private affliction than that of the honour of my country, and I see it exposed to eternal infamy by the barbarous advice which is now given you. The Athenians indeed merit the worst treatment, and every kind of punishment that can be inflicted on them, for so unjustly declaring war against us; but have not the gods, the just avengers of crimes, punished them, and revenged us sufficiently? When their general laid down his arms and surrendered, did he not do this in the hopes of having their lives spared; and if we put them to death, will it be possible for us to avoid the just reproach of our having violated the law of nations, and dishonoured our victory by an unheard-of cruelty? How will you suffer your glory to be thus sullied in the face of the whole world, and have it said, that a nation who first de-

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dicated a temple in this city to Clemency, had not found any in your's? Surely victories and triumphs do not give immortal glory to a city; but the exercising mercy towards a vanquished enemy, the using moderation in the greatest prosperity, and fearing to offend the gods by a haughty and insolent pride, will ever ensure it. You doubtless have not forgot that this Nicias, whose fate you are going to pronounce, was the man who pleaded your cause in the assembly of the Athenians, and employed all his credit, and the whole power of his eloquence, to dissuade his country from embarking in this war; should you, therefore, pronounce sentence of death on this worthy general, would it be a just reward for the zeal he showed for your interest? With regard to myself, death would be less grievous to me than the sight of so horrid an injustice committed by my countrymen and fellow-citizens."

The people seemed moved with compassion at this speech, especially when this venerable old man first ascended. They expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on those who had brought all his calamities upon him, instead of suing for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians, expatiated with vehemence on the unheard-of cruelties which their republic had exercised on several cities belonging to their enemies, and even to their

ancient allies; the inveteracy which the commanders had ſhewn againſt Syracuſe, and the evils they would have made it ſuffer had they been victorious; the afflictions and groans of infinite numbers of Syracuſans, who bewailed the death of their children and near relations, whoſe manes could be appeaſed no other way than by the blood of their murderers. Theſe repreſentations prevailed, and the people returned to their ſanguinary reſolution, and followed Diocles's advice in every reſpect. Gylippus uſed his utmoſt endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demoſthenes given up to him (eſpecially as he had taken them) in order for him to carry them to Lacedæmon; but his demand was rejected with a haughty ſcorn, and the two generals were put to death.

No wiſe and compaſſionate man could forbear ſhedding tears at the tragical fate of two ſuch illuſtrious perſonages, and particularly for Nicias; who, of all men of his time, ſeemed leaſt to merit ſo ignominious and untimely an end. When people recollected the ſpeeches and remonſtrances he had made to prevent the war; and, on the other ſide, when they conſidered how high a regard he had always retained for things relating to religion, the greateſt part of them were tempted to exclaim againſt providence, in ſeeing that a man, who had ever ſhown the higheſt reverence for the gods, and

had always exerted himſelf to the utmoſt for their honour and worſhip, ſhould be ſo ill rewarded by them, and meet with no better fate than the moſt abandoned wretches.

Nicias muſt be regarded by poſterity, as a good, rather than a great man. He was humane and benevolent. He wanted not for wiſdom and diſcernment; and no man ever poſſeſſed more of the true *amor patriæ*. But then he was too timid for the ſervices in which he was ſometimes employed; and, upon all occaſions, too diffident of his own abilities. Theſe qualities in him, however, were not without their advantages. For while they ſubjected him to the mortification of ſeeing his counſels rejected; himſelf ſent out on duty which did not ſuit his inclination; or his operations in the field leſs acceptable than they might otherwiſe have been: they procured him the eſteem of the people, by the appearance of moderation, and of reſpect for their privileges, which they always bore; and the confidence of the ſoldiery, by thoſe ideas of caution, or of ſtratagem, or even piety towards the gods, which they were always ready to affix to them. It was of no ſmall ſervice to the character of Nicias, that he was called upon to act in concert with Cleon and Alcibiades. The fire and impetuoſity of theſe men, required to be tempered by the coolneſs and deliberation of their

colleague; and every reflection on the contrast which their dispositions made, tends to enhance our good opinion of Nicias. Nicias is said always to have given good advice, and always to have fought well. From thence one would think, that he merits a higher title than we seem willing to allow him: and so he would, had the promptitude of his designs kept pace with the sincerity of his intentions, or even with the vigour of his execution. The unhappy event of his last exertions in Sicily, was owing to a variety of causes. Many of his fellow-citizens strove, through envy, to ruin his reputation; his indifferent state of health admitted not of the unremitting vigilance and application which the Athenian affairs in that island demanded; and infectious diseases, and wounds, and death, had rendered the greatest efforts of his troops feeble and ineffectual. Nicias was a rich man: a silver mine which he had in his estate at Laurium, furnished him with the means of displaying his magnificence in public shows and donations. This gained over to him many that were disaffected to his measures, and secured the good opinion of those who approved of them.

Demosthenes was a brave, intrepid officer, and by no means defective in military tactics. There was no contemporary of his more likely to preserve the honour of the Athenian name than he: but

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the misery was, that the affairs of Syracuse were become desperate before he entered upon the expedition. His name was long had in estimation at Athens. Demosthenes the orator, many years after the discomfiture we have related, valued himself upon being of the same family with Demosthenes who fell at Syracuse.

The prisoners were shut up in the prisons of Syracuse, where, crouded one upon the other, they suffered incredible torment for eight months. Here they were for ever exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, scorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the sun, or frozen in the night by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrement, by the carcasses of those who died of their wounds and of sickness, and worn out by hunger and thirst, for the daily allowance to each was but a small measure of water and two of meal. Those who were taken out of this place two months after, in order to be sold as slaves, many of whom were citizens who had concealed their condition, found a less rigorous fate. Their wisdom, their patience, and a certain air of probity and modesty, were of great advantage to them; for they were soon restored to their liberty, or met with the kindest and most generous treatment from their masters. Several of them even owed the good usage they met with to Eu-

ripides, the fineſt ſcenes of whoſe tragedies they repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them: ſo that when they returned to their own country, they went and ſaluted that poet as their deliverer, and informed him of the admirable effects wrought in their favour by his verſes.

The news of the defeat being carried to Athens, the citizens at firſt would not believe it, and were ſo far from giving credit to the report, that they ſentenced that man to death who firſt publiſhed the tidings; but when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were ſeized with the utmoſt conſternation; and, as if themſelves had not decreed the war, they vented their rage and reſentment againſt the orators who had promoted the enterprize, as well as againſt the ſoothſayers, who by their ſuppoſed prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of ſucceſs. They had never been reduced to ſo deplorable a condition as now, having neither horſe, foot, money, gallies, nor mariners; in a word, they were in the deepeſt deſpair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elate with ſo great a victory, and ſtrengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade Athens both by ſea and land with all the forces of Peloponneſus. Cicero had reaſon to obſerve, ſpeaking of the battles in the harbour of Syracuſe, that it was there the troops of Athens, as well as their gallies, were

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ruined and funk, and that in this harbour the power and glory of the Athenians were miferably fhipwrecked.

The Athenians, however, did not fuffer themfelves to be wholly dejected, but refumed courage. They now refolved to raife money on all fides, and to import timber for building of fhips, in order to awe the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the ifland of Eubœa. They retrenched all fuperfluous expences, and eftablifhed a new council of ancient men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs before they fhould be propofed to the people. In fine, they omitted nothing which might be of fervice in the prefent conjuncture; the alarm in which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the neceffities of the ftate, and fedulous to all advice that might promote its intereft.

Such was the event of the fiege of Syracufe, the failure of which deftroyed the power of thofe that had undertaken it. We have hitherto feen Athens rifing in arts and arms, giving leffons both in politenefs, humanity, philofophy, and war, to all the nations round, and beginning to fix an empire, which, if once eftablifhed, no neighbouring power could overthrow. But their ambition grew fafter than their abilities, and their views extending beyond their capacity to execute them, they fell at

once from that height to which, for ages, they had been aſſiduouſly aſpiring. We are now, therefore, to be preſented with a different picture: we are no longer to view this little ſtate panting for conqueſts over other nations, but timorouſly defending itſelf at home; we are no longer to view Athens taking the lead in the councils, and conducting the confederated armies of Greece; they now become in a meaſure annihilated; they fade from the eye of the hiſtorian; and other nations, whoſe names have hitherto been ſcarcely mentioned, emerge from obſcurity. The raſhneſs of this enterprize was ſeverely puniſhed in the loſs of their beſt generals, fleets, and armies; all now was deſtroyed, or left at the mercy of thoſe whom they had ſo unſeaſonably undertaken to ſubdue.

Their allies began now to think of throwing off their yoke; and even thoſe who had ſtood neuter, took this occaſion to declare againſt them. But the Lacedæmonians being more particularly elevated, reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour, and the winter was ſpent in preparations on both ſides. The Athenians, in their preſent diſtreſs, ſcarce knew where to turn; many of their allied cities revolted, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that by placing their forces and fleets at Samos, they reduced ſuch ſtates as had abandoned them to their former obedience, and kept the reſt to their

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duty: thus ſtill ſtruggling with a part of their former ſpirit, they kept themſelves in a condition to make head againſt their enemies, over whom they had obtained ſeveral advantages.

Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that paſſed among the Athenians, ſent ſecretly to the principal of them at Samos, to ſound their ſentiments, and to let them know that he was not averſe from returning to Athens, provided the adminiſtration of the republic were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos, with a deſign to concert with him the proper meaſures for the ſucceſs of that undertaking. He promiſed to procure the Athenians not only the favour of Tiſſaphernes, the king of Perſia's lieutenant, with whom he had taken refuge, but of the king himſelf, upon condition they would aboliſh the democracy, or popular government; becauſe the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than upon thoſe of the inconſtant and capricious multitude. The chief man who oppoſed his return was Phrynicus, one of the generals, who, to compaſs his deſigns, ſent word to Aſtyochus, the Lacedæmonian general, that Alcibiades was treating with Tiſſaphernes, to bring him over to the Athenian intereſt. He offered farther, to betray

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him the whole army and navy of the Athenians. But his treasonable practices being all detected by the good understanding betwixt Alcibiades and Astyochus, he was stript of his office, and afterwards stabbed in the market-place.

In the mean time, the Athenians went eagerly forward to complete that change of government which had been proposed to them by Alcibiades; the democracy began to be abolished in several cities of Athens, and soon after the scheme was carried boldly forward by Pysander, who was chiefly concerned in this transaction. To give a new form to this government, he caused ten commissaries, with absolute power, to be appointed, who were, however, at a certain fixed time, to give the people an account of what they had done. At the expiration of that term, the general assembly was summoned, wherein their first resolution was, that every one should be admitted to make such proposals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accusation, or consequent penalty, for infringing the law. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council should be formed, with full power to administer the public affairs, and to elect new magistrates. For this purpose, five presidents were established, who nominated one hundred persons, including themselves. Each of these chose and associated three more at his

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own pleaſure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an abſolute power was lodged. But to amuſe the people, and to conſole them with a ſhadow of popular government, whilſt they inſtituted a real oligarchy, it was ſaid that the four hundred ſhould call a council of five thouſand citizens to aſſiſt them, whenever they ſhould judge it neceſſary. The council and aſſemblies of the people were held as uſual; nothing was done, however, but by order of the four hundred. The people of Athens were deprived in this manner of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almoſt an hundred years, after having aboliſhed the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides.

This decree being paſſed without oppoſition, after the ſeparation of the aſſembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by an hundred and twenty young men, whom they made uſe of when any execution required it, entered the ſenate, and compelled the ſenators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their appointments. They elected new magiſtrates out of their own body, obſerving the uſual ceremonies upon ſuch occaſions. They did not think proper to recall thoſe who were baniſhed, leſt they ſhould authorize the return of Alcibiades, whoſe uncontroulable ſpirit they dreaded, and who would ſoon have made himſelf maſter of the people. Abuſing their

their power in a tyrannical manner, they put some to death, others they banished, and confiscated their estates with impunity. All who ventured to oppose this change, or even to complain of it, were butchered upon false pretexts, and those were intimidated who demanded justice of the murderers. The four hundred, soon after their establishment, sent ten deputies to Samos, for the army's concurrence to their establishment.

The army, in the mean time, which was at Samos, protested against those proceedings in the city; and, at the persuasion of Thrasybulus, recalled Alcibiades, and created him general, with full power to sail directly to the Pyræus, and crush this new tyranny. Alcibiades, however, would not give way to this rash opinion, but went first to shew himself to Tissaphernes, and let him know, that it was now in his power to treat with him as a friend or an enemy. By which means he awed the Athenians with Tissaphernes, and Tissaphernes with the Athenians. When, afterwards, the four hundred sent to Samos to vindicate their proceedings, the army was for putting the messengers to death, and persisted in the design upon the Pyræus; but Alcibiades, by opposing it, manifestly saved the commonwealth.

In the mean while, the innovation in Athens had occasioned such factions and tumults, that the

four hundred were more intent upon providing for their ſafety, than proſecuting the war. In order to which, they fortified that part of the Pyræus which commands the mouth of the haven, and reſolved, in caſe of extremity, rather to let in the Lacedæmonians, than expoſe their perſons to the fury of their fellow-citizens. The Spartans took occaſion from theſe diſturbances, to hover about with forty-two gallies, under the conduct of Hegeſandrides; and the Athenians, with thirty-ſix under Timochares, were forced to engage them, but loſt part of their fleet, and the reſt were diſperſed. To add to which, all Eubœa, except Oreus, revolted to the Peloponneſians.

This failure of ſucceſs ſerved to give the finiſhing blow to the power of the four hundred. The Athenians without delay depoſed them, as the authors of all their troubles and diviſions under which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled by unanimous conſent, and earneſtly ſolicited to make all poſſible haſte to the aſſiſtance of the city. But judging that if he returned immediately to Athens, he ſhould owe his recall to the compaſſion and favour of the people, he reſolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deſerve it by ſome conſiderable exploit. For this purpoſe, leaving Samos with a ſmall number of ſhips, he cruized about the iſlands of Cos and Cnidos, and having

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learnt that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was failed to the Hellefpont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in purfuit of him, he fteered that way with the utmoft diligence to fupport them, and arrived happily with his eighteen veffels at the time the fleets were engaged near Abydos, in a battle which lafted till night, without any advantage on either fide. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at firft, who believed him ftill their friend, and difpirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades hanging out the Athenian flag in the admiral's galley, fell upon them, and put them to flight; and, animated by his fuccefs, funk their veffels, and made a great flaughter of their foldiers, who had thrown themfelves into the fea, to fave themfelves by fwimming. The Athenians, after having taken thirty of their gallies, and retaken thofe they had loft, erected a trophy.

Alcibiades after this victory went to vifit Tiffaphernes, who was fo far from receiving him as he expected, that he immediately caufed him to be feized, and fent away prifoner to Sardis, telling him, that he had orders from the king to make war upon the Athenians; but the truth is, he was afraid of being accufed to his mafter by the Peloponnefians, and thought, by this act of injuftice, to purge himfelf from all former imputations. Alcibiades, after thirty days, made his efcape to Clazomenæ,

zomenæ, and ſoon after bore down upon the Peloponneſian fleet, which rode at anchor before the port of Cyzicus. With twenty of his beſt ſhips he broke through the enemy, purſued thoſe who abandoned their ſhips and fled to land, and made a great ſlaughter. The Athenians took all the enemy's ſhips, made themſelves maſters of Cyzicus, while Mingimis, the Lacedæmonian general, was found among the number of the ſlain.

Alcibiades well knew how to make uſe of the victory he had gained; and, at the head of his conquering forces, took ſeveral cities which had revolted from the Athenians. Calcedon, Salymbria, and Byzantium, were among the number. Thus fluſhed with conqueſt, he ſeemed to deſire nothing ſo ardently as to be once more ſeen by his countrymen, as his preſence would be a triumph to his friends, and an inſult to his enemies. Accordingly, being recalled, he ſet ſail for Athens. Beſides the ſhips covered with bucklers and ſpoils of all ſorts, in the manner of trophies, a great number of veſſels were alſo towed after him by way of triumph; he diſplayed alſo the enſigns and ornaments of thoſe he had burnt, which were more than the others, the whole amounting to about two hundred ſhips. It is ſaid, that reflecting on what had been done againſt him, upon approaching the port, he was ſtruck with ſome terror, and

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was afraid to quit his veſſel, till he ſaw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations, who were come to the ſhore to receive him, and earneſtly entreated him to land. As ſoon as he was landed, the multitude who came out to meet him, fixed their eyes on him, thronged about him, ſaluted him with loud acclamations, and crowned him with garlands. He received their congratulations with great ſatisfaction; he deſired to be diſcharged from his former condemnation, and obtained from the prieſts an abſolution from all their former denunciations.

Yet, notwithſtanding theſe triumphs, the real power of Athens was now no more, the ſtrength of the ſtate was gone, and even the paſſion for liberty was loſt in the common degeneracy of the times; many of the meaner ſort of people paſſionately deſired that Alcibiades would take the ſovereignty upon him, they even deſired him to ſet himſelf above the reach of envy, by ſecuring all power in his own perſon; the great, however, were not ſo warm in their gratitude, they were content with appointing him generaliſſimo of all their forces; they granted him whatever he demanded, and gave him for colleagues the generals moſt agreeable to him. He ſet ſail accordingly, with an hundred ſhips, and ſteered for the iſland of Andros that had revolted, where, having defeated

the inhabitants, he went from thence to Samos, intending to make that the ſeat of war. In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, juſtly alarmed at his ſucceſs, made choice of a general ſuppoſed to be capable of making head againſt him; for this reaſon, they fixed upon Lyſander, who, though born of the higheſt family, had been bred up to hardſhips, and paid an entire reſpect to the diſcipline and manners of his country. He was brave and aſpiring, and, like his countrymen, ſacrificed all ſorts of pleaſure to his ambition. He had an evenneſs and ſedateneſs of temper, which made all conditions of life ſit eaſy upon him; but withal was extremely inſinuating, crafty, and deſigning, and made his intereſt the only meaſure of truth and falſhood. This deceitful temper was obſerved to run through the whole courſe of his life; upon which occaſion it was ſaid, that he cheated children with foul play, and men with perjury: and it was a maxim of his own, that when the lion fails we muſt make uſe of the fox.

Lyſander having brought his army to Epheſus, gave orders for aſſembling ſhips of burden from all parts, and erected an arſenal for building of gallies; he made the ports free for merchants, gave the public places to artificers, put all arts in motion, and, by theſe means, filled the city with riches, and laid the foundation of that magnificence

which ſhe afterwards attained. Whilſt he was making theſe diſpoſitions, he received advice that Cyrus, the Perſian prince, was arrived at Sardis, he, therefore, ſet out from Epheſus to make him a viſit, and to complain of Tiſſaphernes, whoſe duplicity and treachery had been fatal to their common cauſe. Cyrus, who had a perſonal enmity to that general, came into the views of Lyſander, agreed to increaſe the ſeamen's pay, and to give him all the aſſiſtance in his power.

This largeſs filled the whole fleet with ardour and alacrity, and almoſt unmanned the enemy's gallies, the greateſt part of the mariners deſerting to the party where the pay was beſt. The Athenians, in deſpair upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus by the interpoſition of Tiſſaphernes; but he would not hearken to them, notwithſtanding the ſatrap repreſented, that it was not for the king's intereſt to aggrandize the Lacedæmonians, but to balance the power of one ſide with that of the other, in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own diviſions.

Alcibiades, on the other hand, having occaſion to leave the fleet, in order to raiſe the ſupplies, gave the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with expreſs command not to engage or attack the enemy in his abſence. Antiochus, however, was willing to do ſome action that might procure him fa-

vour, without a partner in the glory: he was ſo far, therefore, from obſerving the orders that were given him, that he preſently ſailed away for Epheſus; and, at the very mouth of the harbour, uſed every art to provoke the enemy to an engagement. Lyſander at firſt manned out a few ſhips to repel his inſults: but as the Athenian ſhips advanced to ſupport Antiochus, other gallies belonging to the Lacedæmonians alſo came on, till both fleets arrived by little and little, and the engagement became general on both ſides. Lyſander at length was victorious; Antiochus was ſlain, and fifteen Athenian gallies were taken. It was in vain that Alcibiades ſoon after came up to the relief of his friends; it was in vain that he offered to renew the combat; Lyſander, content with the victory he had gained, was unwilling to truſt to fortune.

The fickle multitude of Athens again, therefore, began to accuſe Alcibiades of incapibility. He who was juſt before reſpected even to adoration, was now diſcarded upon a groundleſs ſuſpicion, that he had not done his duty. But it was the glory he had obtained by his paſt ſervices that now ruined him; for his continual ſucceſs had begot in the people ſuch an high opinion of him, that they thought it impoſſible for him to fail in any thing he undertook, and from thence his enemies took occaſion to queſtion his integrity, and

to impute to him both his own and other miscarriages. Callicratidas was appointed to succeed Lysander, whose year was expired; alike severe to himself and others, inaccessible to flattery and sloth, the declared enemy of luxury, he retained the modesty, temperance, and austerity of the ancient Spartans; virtues that began to distinguish him particularly, as they were not very common in his time. His probity and justice were proof against all attacks; his simplicity and integrity abhorred all falshood and fraud. To these virtues were joined a truly Spartan nobleness and grandeur of soul. The first attempt of the new admiral was against Methymna, in Lesbos, which he took by storm. He then threatened Conon, who was appointed general of the Athenians, that he would make him leave *debauching* the sea, and accordingly soon after pursued him into the port of Mytilene with an hundred and seventy sail, took thirty of his ships, and besieged him in the town, from which he cut off all provisions. He soon after took ten ships more out of twelve, which were coming to his relief. Then hearing that the Athenians had fitted out their whole strength, consisting of an hundred and fifty sail, he left fifty of his ships, under Etonicus, to carry on the siege of Mytilene, and with an hundred and twenty more met the Athenians at Argineusæ, over against Lesbos. His pilot

pilot advised him to retreat, for that the enemy was superior in number. He told him that Sparta would be never the worse inhabited though he were slain. The fight was long and obstinate, until at last the ship of Callicratidas, charging through the enemy, was sunk, and the rest fled. The Peloponnesians lost about seventy sail, and the Athenians twenty-five, with most of the men in them. The Athenian admirals, who had the joint command of the fleet, instead of being rewarded for so signal a victory, were made a barbarous instance of the power and ingratitude of their fellow-citizens. Upon a relation of the fight before the senate, it was alledged, they had suffered their men who were shipwrecked to be lost, when they might have saved them; upon which they were clapped in irons, in order to answer for their conduct to the people. They urged in their defence, that they were pursuing the enemy; and, at the same time, gave orders about taking up the men to those whose business it more peculiarly was; particularly to Theramenes, who was now their accuser; but yet that their orders could not be executed, by reason of a violent storm which happened at that time. This seemed so reasonable and satisfactory, that several stood up and offered to bail them: but, in another assembly, the popular incendiaries demanded justice, and so awed the

judges, that Socrates was the only man who had courage enough to declare, he would do nothing contrary to law, and accordingly refused to act. After a long debate, eight of the ten were condemned, and six of them were put to death, among whom was Pericles, son of the great Pericles. He declared, that they had failed in nothing of their duty, as they had given orders that the dead bodies should be taken up; that if any one were guilty, it was he, who being charged with these orders, had neglected to put them in execution; but that he accused nobody, and that the tempest which came on unexpectedly, at the very instant, was an unanswerable apology, and entirely discharged the accused from all guilt. He demanded that a whole day should be allowed them to make their defence, a favour not denied to the most criminal, and that they should be tried separately. He represented, that they were not in the least obliged to precipitate a sentence wherein the lives of the most illustrious citizens were concerned; that it was in some measure attacking the gods, to make men responsible for the winds and weather; that they could not, without the most flagrant ingratitude and injustice, put the conquerors to death, to whom they ought to decree crowns and honours, or give up the defenders of their country to the rage of those who envied them; that if they did

so,

ſo, their unjuſt judgment would be followed by a ſudden, but vain repentance, which would leave behind it the ſharpeſt remorſe, and cover them with eternal infamy. Among the number alſo was Diomedon, a perſon equally eminent for his valour and his probity; as he was carrying to his execution, he demanded to be heard. "Athenians, ſaid he, I wiſh the ſentence you have paſſed upon us may not prove the misfortune of the republic; but I have one favour to aſk of you in behalf of my colleagues and myſelf, which is, to acquit us before the gods of the vows we made to them for you and ourſelves, as we are not in a condition to diſcharge them; for it is to their protection, invoked before the battle, we acknowledge, that we are indebted for the victory gained by us over the enemy." There was not a good citizen that did not melt into tears at this diſcourſe, ſo full of goodneſs and religion, and admire with ſurprize the moderation of a perſon, who ſeeing himſelf unjuſtly condemned, did not however vent the leaſt reſentment, or even complaint againſt his judges, but was ſolely intent (in favour of an ungrateful country which had doomed them to periſh) upon what it owed to the gods in common with them for the victory they had lately obtained.

This complication of injuſtice and ingratitude, ſeemed to give the finiſhing blow to the affairs of

the Athenian ſtate; they ſtruggled for a while after their defeat at Syracuſe, but from hence they were entirely ſunk, though ſeemingly in the arms of victory.

The enemy, after their laſt defeat, had once more recourſe to Lyſander, who had ſo often led them to conqueſt; on him they placed their chief confidence, and ardently ſolicited his return. The Lacedæmonians, to gratify their allies, and yet to obſerve their laws, which forbade that honour being conferred twice on the ſame perſon, ſent him with an inferior title, but with the power of admiral. Thus appointed, Lyſander ſailed towards the Helleſpont, and laid ſiege to Lampſacus; the place was carried by ſtorm, and abandoned by Lyſander to the mercy of the ſoldiers. The Athenians, who followed him cloſe, upon the news of his ſucceſs, ſteered forward towards Oleſtus, and from thence ſailing along the coaſt, halted over againſt the enemy at Ægos Potamos, a place fatal to the Athenians.

The Helleſpont is not above two thouſand paces broad in that place. The two armies ſeeing themſelves ſo near each other, expected only to reſt that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next. But Lyſander had another deſign in view: he commanded the ſeamen and pilots to go on board their gallies, as if they were in reality

to fight the next morning at break of day, to hold themselves in readiness, and to wait his orders in profound silence. He ordered the land army in like manner to draw up in battle upon the coast, and to wait the day without any noise. On the morning, as soon as the sun was risen, the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet in one line, and to bid them defiance. Lysander, though his ships were ranged in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay still without making any movement. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not suffer his soldiers to go ashore till two or three gallies which he had sent out to observe them, were returned with advice, that they had seen the enemy land. The next day passed in the same manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued reserve and apprehension, extremely augmented the security and boldness of the Athenians, and inspired them with an high contempt for an army, which fear prevented from shewing themselves or attempting any thing.

Whilst this passed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horse and came to the Athenian generals, to whom he represented, that they kept upon a very disadvantageous coast, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their provisions

from

from Seſtos, with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to ſuffer the ſoldiers and mariners of the fleet, as ſoon as they were aſhore to ſtraggle and diſperſe themſelves at their pleaſure, whilſt the enemy's fleet faced them in view, accuſtomed to execute the orders of their general with inſtant obedience, and upon the ſlighteſt ſignal. He offered alſo to attack the enemy by land with a ſtrong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, eſpecially Tydeus and Menander, jealous of their command, did not content themſelves with refuſing his offers, from the opinion, that if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall upon them; and, if favourable, that Alcibiades would engroſs the whole honour of it, but rejected alſo with inſult his wiſe and ſalutary counſel; as if a man in diſgrace loſt his ſenſe and abilities with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day the Athenians preſented themſelves again, and offered him battle, retiring in the evening according to cuſtom, with more inſulting airs than the days before. Lyſander, as uſual, detached ſome gallies to obſerve them, with orders to return with the utmoſt diligence when they ſaw the Athenians landed, and to put a brown buckler at each ſhip's head as ſoon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himſelf, in the mean

time,

time, ran through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the feamen and foldiers in readinefs to row and fight on the firft fignal.

As foon as the bucklers were put up in the fhips heads, and the admiral's galley had given the fignal by the found of trumpet, the whole fleet fet forwards in good order. The land army, at the fame time, made all poffible hafte to the top of the promontory, to fee the battle. The ftrait that feparates the two continents in this place is about fifteen ftadia, or three quarters of a league in breadth, which fpace was prefently cleared through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the firft who perceived from fhore the enemy's fleet advancing in good order to attack him, upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of forrow and perplexity, fome he called to by their names, fome he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their gallies; but all his endeavours and emotion were ineffectual, the foldiers being difperfed on all fides. For they were no fooner come on fhore, than fome were run to the futtlers, fome to walk in the country, fome to fleep in their tents, and others had begun to drefs their fuppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in their generals, who,

not

not fuſpecting the leaſt danger, indulged themſelves in taking their repoſe, and gave their ſoldiers the ſame liberty.

The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries, and a great noiſe of their oars, when Conon diſengaging himſelf with nine gallies, of which number was the ſacred ſhip, he ſtood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge with Evagoras. The Peloponneſians falling upon the reſt of the fleet, took immediately the gallies which were empty, and diſabled and deſtroyed ſuch as began to fill with men. The ſoldiers who ran without order or arms to their relief, were either killed in the endeavour to get on board, or flying on ſhore, were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in purſuit of them. Lyſander took three thouſand priſoners, with all the generals, and the whole fleet, after having plundered the camp, and faſtened the enemy's gallies to the ſterns of his own, he returned to Lampſacus amidſt the ſounds of flutes and ſongs of triumph. It was his glory to have atchieved one of the greateſt military exploits recorded in hiſtory with little or no loſs, and to have terminated a war in the ſmall ſpace of an hour, which had already laſted ſeven and twenty years, and which, perhaps, without him had been of much longer continuance. Lyſander immedi-

ately

ately ſent diſpatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

The three thouſand priſoners taken in this battle having been condemned to die, Lyſander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had cauſed all the priſoners taken in two gallies, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice, and had formerly perſuaded the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the priſoners of war, in order to diſable them from handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to ſerve at the oar. Lyſander, therefore, cauſed him to be brought forth, and aſked him what ſentence he would paſs upon himſelf for having induced his city to paſs that cruel decree. Philocles, without departing from his haughtineſs in the leaſt, notwithſtanding the extreme danger he was in, made anſwer: "Accuſe not people of crimes who have no judges, but as you are victors, uſe your right, and do by us as we had done by you if we had conquered." At the ſame inſtant he went into a bath, put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremoſt to the execution. All the priſoners were put to the ſword except Adamantus, who had oppoſed the decree.

When the news of the entire defeat of the army came to Athens, by a ſhip which arrived in the night

night at the Piræus, the city was in consternation. They naturally expected a siege: and, in fact, Lysander was preparing to besiege them. Nothing was heard but cries of sorrow and despair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates; they represented to themselves the miseries of a long siege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the insolence of a proud victor, and the shameful slavery they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and insupportable to them than the most severe punishments, and death itself. The next day the assembly was summoned, wherein it was resolved to shut up all the ports, one only excepted, to repair the breaches in the walls, and mount guard to prepare against a siege.

Their fears were soon confirmed by reality. Lysander finding numbers of Athenians dispersed in different cities, commanded them all on pain of death to take shelter in Athens. This he did with a design, so to croud the city as to be able soon to reduce it by famine. In effect, he soon after arrived at the port of Athens with an hundred and fifty sail; while Agis and Pausanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced with their army to besiege it by land.

The wretched Athenians, thus hemmed in on every side, without provisions, ships, or hopes of relief,

relief, prepared to meet the last extremity with patience: in this manner, without speaking the least word of a capitulation, and dying in the streets by numbers, they obstinately continued on the defensive; but, at length, their corn and provisions being entirely consumed, they found themselves compelled to send deputies to Agis, with offers of abandoning all their possessions, their city and port only excepted. The haughty Lacedæmonian referred their deputies to the state itself, and when the suppliant deputies had made known their commission to the Ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other proposals if they expected peace. At length, Theramenes, an Athenian, undertook to manage the treaty with Lysander; and, after three months of close conference, he received full powers to treat at Lacedæmon. When he, attended by nine others, arrived before the Ephori, it was there strongly urged by some of the confederates, that Athens should be totally destroyed, without hearkening to any farther proposals. But the Lacedæmonians told them, they would not destroy a city which had so eminently rescued Greece in the most critical juncture, and consented to a peace upon these conditions: that the long walls and fortifications of the Piræus should be demolished; that they should deliver up all their ships but twelve; that they should restore

their

their exiles; that they ſhould make a league offenſive and defenſive with the Lacedæmonians, and ſerve them in all their expeditions, both by ſea and land. Theramenes being returned with the articles to Athens, was aſked why he acted ſo contrary to the intentions of Themiſtocles, and gave thoſe walls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, which he built in defiance of them? I have my eye, ſays he, upon Themiſtocles's deſign; he raiſed theſe walls for the preſervation of the city, and I for the very ſame reaſon would have them deſtroyed; for if walls only ſecure a city, Sparta, which has none, is in a very ill condition. The Athenians, at another time, would not have thought this a ſatisfactory anſwer, but being reduced to the laſt extremity, it did not admit of a long debate whether they ſhould accept the treaty. At laſt, Lyſander coming up the Piræus, demoliſhed the walls with great ſolemnity, and all the inſulting triumphs of muſic. Thus a final period was put to this unhappy war, which had continued for ſeven and twenty years, in which heaps of treaſure and a deluge of blood were exhauſted.

It would be unpardonable in us, not to pay that tribute of gratitude and reſpect, which is due to the memory of thoſe exalted geniuſes, whoſe labours adorned the nations of their own times, and have poliſhed and humanized thoſe of latter times.

Wars

Wars and politicals contests, serve b
late the earth, or to fill the minds
animosity and hate: while the labours
torian, the fancies of the poet, and the inventions
of the philosopher, enlarge the understanding, 3
meliorate the heart, and teach us fortitude and resignation. Such peaceful and improving arts well deserve our notice. More especially does the cultivation of them in Greece deserve our attention, as many of the writers of that country were renowned for military or political, as well as literary accomplishments.

Of Homer it were unnecessary to say much, his merit being well known. It is not probable that he was the first of the Grecian poets. There seems to have been authors prior to him, from whom he has borrowed in the execution of his Iliad; but as he was the first poet of note, it was not unnatural to place him at the head of all antient bards. Concurring testimonies seem to allow Smyrna the highest claim to the honour of giving him birth. That event took place about two hundred and forty years after the destruction of Troy.

Hesiod was either contemporary with Homer, or lived immediately after him. Their works will not bear a comparison. Homer is stately and sublime, while Hesiod is plain and agreeable. But

io, we do not mean to detract in the reputation of Hesiod: to write with ... and propriety was all he studied, and ...ese he certainly attained to.

About the beginning of the war which preceded the peace concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for fifty years, died Æschylus, the Athenian dramatic writer. He has the same claim to the title of *Father of Tragedy*, which Homer has to that of *Poetry*. For although he was not the first who attempted that sort of composition, yet he was the first who reduced it to any kind of regularity and method. In the days of Solon, Thespis made a considerable improvement, by introducing a single person, whose business was to relieve the chorus, by the recital of some extraordinary adventure. It was Æschylus who exchanged the cart of Thespis for a theatre; who introduced a variety of performers, each taking a part in the representation of some great action, and dressed in a manner suited to his character. The style of Æschylus is pompous, and sometimes sublime, but harsh, and destitute of musical arrangement. Had he been less obscure, he would have had a much higher claim to the character of *sublime*. The chief object of his pieces is *terror*; and there is not a doubt, but that his rough unpo-

 polished

lished manner has contributed greatly to promote that object.

During that period, in which Greece was so much distracted by the Peloponnesian war, there flourished Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophenes, &c. among the poets; Herodotus and Thucydides among the historians; and Socrates among the philosophers.

Sophocles had applied so intensely to the study of tragedy, when a young man, that his first piece was judged not inferior to the very best of those of Æschylus. Both of these poets were stately in their manner, but Æschylus was the more sublime. That advantage, however, was more than counterbalanced by the versatility of Sophocles's genius, and by his superior perspicuity and eloquence. He was also more successful than his master in his appeal to the passions; and though he did not harrow up the breast so much by *terror*, he softened it more by *pity*, and acquired, of course, the reputation of being a more amiable and polite writer. Sophocles was likewise much more happy than his predecessor, in the conduct of his plots. He made them more interesting, by being more artful. He also contrived to make the performances of the chorus bear a relation to the main action, and so rendered the whole entire.

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The great applause with which his last piece was received, is said to have cost him his life.

Euripides, the rival of Sophocles, aimed not at the lofty strains of Æschylus, or of his great competitor. He was more sententious and moral than either of them; and seemed to have as strong a desire to instruct mankind, as to obtain their approbation. Correctness and elegance were the qualities of style which he appears to have admired. He is less artful and magnificent than Sophocles; but then he is more natural, and more useful. We have already mentioned a circumstance which redounded very much to the honour of the poet, the emancipation of many of the Athenians who were made prisoners at Syracuse, because they repeated some of his beautiful verses.

While tragedy was improving in the hands of Sophocles and Euripides, comedy was advancing under the guidance of Phrynicus, Aristophanes, and Cratinus. But the most distinguished genius of this kind was Aristophanes. At the same time that he entertained the Athenians with his pleasantry, he lashed them with his satire. True it is, he did not possess much of that fine raillery, which has given so smooth, and yet so sharp an edge to modern comedy; but then he possessed fire and strength; and by introducing his characters without the disguise of name, occupation, &c. his performances

formances were often more relished, and, most likely, more useful than those of the tragedians. The period of which we are speaking, may very properly be called *The free age of Poetry in Greece*. There were several causes which conspired to make it so. The taste and manners of the Greeks had been refined, and their minds enlarged, by their intercourse with foreign nations, and the lessons of their philosophers; and, what was a greater incentive to emulation among the poets than any of these, was, the smooth, musical, expressive, copious, and varied language in which they wrote.

As to history, Herodotus is considered as the father of that species of composition in Greece. He wrote the history of the wars between the Greeks and Persians, and gave a detail of the affairs of almost all other nations, from the reign of Cyrus to that of Xerxes. His work consists of nine books. It is clothed in the Ionic dialect, and is a perfect model of simplicity and elegance.

Thucydides is esteemed a more able writer than even Herodotus. He wants, indeed, that native elegance for which his predecessor is admired, but then he is more judicious and energetic. He wrote the history of the Peloponnesian war.

Of Socrates, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and other illustrious Grecian writers and philosophers, mention is made in different parts of this work. There

is a circumstance that merits our attention here; the discovery of the *Metonic*, or *Golden Number*, by Meton. That philosopher flourished a little before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, and was much esteemed by the Athenians.

Pindar was a native of Thebes, and contemporary with Meton.

CHAP. XI.

From the Demolition of the Athenian Power, to the Death of Socrates.

THE victory of Lysander was so terrible a shock to Athens, that it only survived to be sensible of the loss of its own power; however, the conquerors were so generous as not to extinguish the name; they said they would not be guilty of putting out one of the eyes of Greece; but they imposed some farther marks of conquest on them: they obliged the people to demolish the democracy, and submit to the government of thirty men, who were commonly known by the name of the thirty tyrants. Though the Greeks were apt enough to give that name to men of virtuous characters, these men, who were the creatures of Lysander, in every respect deserved the most opprobrious

brious denomination: instead of compiling and publishing a more perfect body of laws, which was the pretence for their being chosen, they began to exert their power of life and death; and though they constituted a senate, and other magistrates, they made no farther use of them than to confirm their authority, and to see their commands executed. However, they at first acted cautiously, and condemned only the most detested and scandalous part of the citizens, such as lived by evidencing and informing: but this was only to give a colour to their proceedings; their design was to make themselves absolute; and knowing that was not to be done without a foreign power, their next step was to desire a guard might be sent them from Sparta, until such time as they could clear the city from all disaffected persons, and thoroughly settle the government. Lysander, accordingly, procured them a guard, under the command of Callibius, who, by bribes and artifices, was wrought over to their designs, and then seen to act without controul, filling the city with the blood of those, who, on account of their riches, interest, or good qualities, were most likely to make head against them.

One of the first acts of their cruelty was, the procuring the death of Alcibiades, who had taken refuge in the dominions of Persia. This unfortu-

nate general, ſtill mindful of the debt he owed his country, employed his utmoſt attention in giving it the earlieſt notices of what could affect its freedom or its ſafety. Cyrus, the prince of Perſia, having reſolved to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes, entered into a treaty with the Lacedæmonians, to aſſiſt him in his deſigns. Alcibiades did all that was in his power to obſtruct the ſcheme; but the Lacedæmonian partizans at Athens, that is to ſay, the thirty tyrants, apprehended the intrigues of ſo ſuperior a genius as his, and repreſented to their maſters, that they were inevitably ruined, if they did not find means to rid themſelves of Alcibiades. The Lacedæmonians thereupon wrote to Pharnabaſus, and with an abject meanneſs not to be excuſed, and which ſhewed how much Sparta had degenerated from her antient manners, made preſſing inſtances to him to deliver them at any rate from ſo formidable an enemy. This ſatrap complied with their wiſhes. Alcibiades was then in a ſmall town of Phrygia, where he lived with his concubine Timandra. Thoſe who were ſent to kill him not daring to enter his houſe, contented themſelves with ſurrounding and ſetting it on fire. Alcibiades having quitted it through the flames, ſword in hand, the barbarians were afraid to ſtay to come to blows with him, but flying and retreating as he advanced, they poured their darts and

arrows

arrows upon him from a diſtance, and he fell dead upon the ſpot. Timandra took up his body, and having adorned and covered it with the fineſt robes ſhe had, ſhe made as magnificent a funeral for it as her preſent condition would admit.

Such was the end of Alcibiades, whoſe great virtues were ſtifled and ſuppreſſed by ſtill greater vices. It is not eaſy to ſay whether his good or bad qualities were moſt pernicious to his country, for with the one he deceived, and with the other he oppreſſed it. In him diſtinguiſhed valour was united with nobility of blood. His perſon was beautiful and finely made; he was eloquent, of great ability in affairs, inſinuating, and formed for charming all mankind. He loved glory, but indulged, at the ſame time, his inclination for pleaſure; nor was he ſo fond of pleaſure, as to neglect his glory for it: he knew how to give into, or abſtract himſelf from the allurements of luxury, according to the ſituation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his; he metamorphoſed himſelf with incredible facility, into the moſt contrary forms, and ſupported them all with as much eaſe and grace as if each had been natural to him.

In this manner the thirty proceeded, and fearing to be oppoſed by the multitude, they inveſted three thouſand citizens with ſome part of their power, and by their aſſiſtance preſerved the reſt.

But

But thoroughly emboldened by ſuch an acceſſion to their party, they agreed to ſingle out every one his man, to put him to death, and ſeize their eſtates for the maintenance of their garriſon. Theramenes, one of their number, was the only man that was ſtruck with horror at their proceedings; wherefore Critias, the principal author of this deteſtable reſolution, thought it neceſſary to remove him, and accuſed him to the ſenate of endeavouring to ſubvert the ſtate. Sentence of death was, therefore, paſſed upon him, and he was obliged to drink the juice of hemlock, the uſual mode of execution at that time in Athens. Socrates, whoſe diſciple he had been, was the only perſon of the ſenate who ventured to appear in his defence; he made an attempt to reſcue him out of the hands of the officer of juſtice, and after his execution, went about as it were in defiance of the thirty, exhorting and animating the ſenators and citizens againſt them.

The tyrants, delivered from a colleague whoſe preſence alone was a continual reproach to them, no longer obſerved any juſt meaſures. Nothing paſſed throughout the city but impriſonments and murders. Every body trembled for himſelf or his friends. The general deſolation had no remedy, nor was there any hope of regaining loſt liberty.

All the citizens of any confideration in Athens, and who retained a love of freedom, quitted a place reduced to fo hard and fhameful a flavery, and fought elfewhere an afylum and retreat, where they might live in fafety. The Lacedæmonians had the inhumanity to endeavour to deprive thofe unhappy fugitives of this laft refource. They publifhed an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge, decreed that they fhould be delivered up to the thirty tyrants, and condemned all fuch as fhould contravene the execution of this edict, to pay a fine of five talents. Only two cities rejected with difdain fo unjuft an ordinance, Megara and Thebes; the latter of which made a decree to punifh all perfons whatfoever, that fhould fee an Athenian attacked by his enemies without doing his utmoft to affift him. Lyfias, an orator of Syracufe, who had been banifhed by the thirty, raifed five hundred foldiers at his own expence, and fent them to the aid of the native country of eloquence.

Thrafybulus, a man of admirable character, who had long deplored the miferies of his country, was now the firft to relieve it. At Thebes he fell into a confultation with his fellow-citizens, and the refult was, that fome vigorous effort, though it fhould carry never fo much danger, ought to be made for the benefit of public liberty. Accordingly, with

a party of thirty men only, as Nepos says, but, as Xenophon more probably says, of near seventy, he seized upon Phyle, a strong castle on the frontiers of Attica. This enterprize gave the alarm to the tyrants, who immediately marched out of Athens with their three thousand followers, and their Spartan guard, and attempted the recovery of the place, but were repulsed with loss. Finding they could not carry it by a sudden assault, they resolved upon a siege, but not being sufficiently provided for that service, and a great snow falling that night, they were forced to retire the next day into the city, leaving only part of their guard, to prevent any farther incursions into the country. Encouraged by this success, Thrasybulus no longer kept himself confined, but marched out of Phyle by night; and, at the head of a body of a thousand men, seized on the Pyræus. The thirty flew thither with their troops, and a battle sufficiently warm ensued; but, as the soldiers on one side fought with valour and vigour for their liberty, and, on the other, with indolence and neglect for the power of their oppressors, the success was not doubtful, but followed the better cause: the tyrants were overthrown; Critias was killed upon the spot; and, as the rest of the army were taking to flight, Thrasybulus cried out, "Wherefore do you fly from me as from a victor, rather

than

than aſſiſt me as the avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies, but fellow-citizens, nor have we declared war againſt the city, but againſt the thirty tyrants." He continued, with bidding them remember that they had the ſame origin, country, laws, and religion; he exhorted them to compaſſionate their exiled brethren, to reſtore to them their country, and reſume their liberty themſelves. This diſcourſe had ſuitable effects. The army, upon their return to Athens, expelled the thirty, and ſubſtituted ten perſons to govern in their room, but whoſe conduct proved no better than that of thoſe whom they ſucceeded.

Though the government was thus altered, and the thirty were depoſed from power, they ſtill had hopes of being reinſtated in their former authority, and ſent deputies to Lacedæmon to demand aid. Lyſander was for granting it to them; but Pauſanias, who then reigned in Sparta, moved with compaſſion at the deplorable condition of the Athenians, favoured them in ſecret, and obtained a peace for them: it was ſealed with the blood of the tyrants, who having taken arms to reinſtate themſelves in government, were put to the ſword, and Athens left in full poſſeſſion of its liberty. Thraſybulus then propoſed an amneſty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath that all paſt actions ſhould be buried in oblivion. The government

was

was then re-eſtabliſhed in its ancient forms; their laws were reſtored to their paſt vigour, the magiſtrates elected with the uſual ceremonies, and democracy once more reſtored to this unfortunate people. Xenophon obſerves, that this inteſtine fury had conſumed as many in eight months, as the Peloponneſian war had done in ten years.

Upon the re-eſtabliſhment of affairs in Athens, the other ſtates enjoyed the ſame tranquillity, or rather kept in a quiet ſubjection to Sparta, which now held the undoubted ſovereignty of Greece. But it being a maxim with the Spartans, that this ſovereignty was not to be maintained but by a conſtant courſe of action, they were ſtill ſeeking freſh occaſions for war; and part of their forces, together with another body of Grecians, being at this time engaged in a quarrel between the Perſian king and his brother, it will be neceſſary to paſs over into Aſia, and relate ſo much of the Perſian affairs as concerns the expedition of Cyrus, wherein thoſe forces were employed, eſpecially ſince it is attended with circumſtances which, if duly conſidered, will eaſily make it paſs for one of the greateſt actions of antiquity.

It has been already obſerved, that Cyrus, the ſon of Darius Nothus, ſaw with pain his elder brother Artaxerxes upon the throne, and more than once attempted to remove him. Artaxerxes was

not

not infenfible of what he had to fear from a brother of his enterprizing and ambitious fpirit, but could not refufe pardoning him on the prayers and tears of his mother Paryfatis, who doated upon this youngeft fon. He removed him, therefore, into Afia to his government, confiding in him, contrary to all the rules of policy, an abfolute authority over all the provinces left him by the will of the king his father. He was no fooner appointed in this manner, but he ufed all his arts with the barbarians and the Grecians to procure power and popularity, in order to dethrone his brother. Clearchus retired to his court, after having been banifhed from Sparta, and was of great fervice to him, being an able, experienced, and valiant captain. At the fame time, feveral cities in the provinces of Tiffaphernes revolted from their obedience in favour of Cyrus. This incident, which was not an effect of chance, but of the fecret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between the two brothers. The emiffaries of Cyrus at the court, were perpetually difperfing reports and opinions amongft the people, to prepare their minds for the intended change and revolt. They talked that the ftate required a king of Cyrus's character, a king magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and fhowered his favours upon thofe that ferved him; and that it was neceffary, for the grandeur of the

empire,

empire, to have a prince upon the throne fired with ambition and valour, for the ſupport and augmentation of his glory.

The troops of Cyrus, which were apparently levied for the buſineſs of the ſtate, but in fact to overturn it, conſiſted of thirteen thouſand Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army. Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, who commanded the Peloponneſian troops, was the only man of all the Greeks that was let into the Perſian prince's deſign; he made it his ſole application to gain the affections of his people during their marches, by treating them with humanity, converſing freely with them, and giving effectual orders that they ſhould want for nothing. The Grecian troops knew neither the intent nor the occaſion of the war; they ſet out for Sardis, at length, and marched towards the upper provinces of Athens.

When they were arrived at Tarſus, the Greeks refuſed to march any farther, rightly ſuſpecting that they were intended againſt the king, and loudly exclaiming, that they had not entered into the ſervice upon that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occaſion for all his addreſs and ability to ſtifle this commotion in its birth. At firſt he made uſe of authority and force, but with very ill ſucceſs, and deſiſted therefore from an open

oppoſition

opposition to their sentiments: he even affected to enter into their views, and to support them with his approbation and credit. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and made them easy; and they chose him and some other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had secretly apprized of every thing, made answer, that he was going to attack Abrocomas, his enemy, at twelve days march from thence upon the Euphrates. When this answer was repeated to them, though they plainly saw against whom they were going, they resolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay. Cyrus, instead of one daric a month to each soldier, promised to give them one and a half. Still to ingratiate himself the more, being told that two officers had deserted from the army, and being advised to pursue and put them to death, he declared publicly, that it should never be said he had detained any one person in his service against his will; and he ordered their wives and children, who were left as hostages in his army, to be sent after them. A conduct so wise, and apparently generous, had a surprizing effect in conciliating the affections of the soldiery, and made even those his firm adherents who were before inclined to retire.

As Cyrus advanced by long marches, he was informed from all parts, that the king did not intend

to come directly to a battle, but had resolved to wait in the remotest parts of Persia till all his forces were assembled; and that, to stop his enemies, he had ordered an entrenchment to be thrown up on the plains of Babylon, with a ditch of five fathoms broad, and three deep, extending the space of twelve parasangs, or leagues, from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between the Euphrates and the ditch, a way had been left of twenty feet in breadth, by which Cyrus passed with his whole army, having reviewed it the day before. The king had neglected to dispute this pass with him, and suffered him to continue his march towards Babylon.

Cyrus still continued to proceed, giving Clearchus the command of the right wing of the Grecian army, and Menon that of the left, still marching in order of battle, expecting every hour to engage: at length he discovered his brother's army, consisting of twelve hundred thousand men, besides a select body of six thousand horse, approaching and preparing to engage.

The place where the battle was fought was called Cunara, about twenty-five leagues from Babylon. Cyrus getting on horseback, with his javelin in his hand, gave orders to the troops to stand to their arms, and proceed in order of battle. The enemy, in the mean time, advanced slowly, in good order.

 Artaxerxes

Artaxerxes led them on regularly with a ſlow pace, without noiſe or confuſion. That good order and exact diſcipline extremely ſurprized the Greeks, who expected to ſee much luxury and tumult in ſo great a multitude, and to hear confuſed cries, as Cyrus had foretold them.

The armies were not diſtant above four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to ſing the hymn of battle, and to march on ſoftly at firſt, and with ſilence. When they came near the enemy, they ſet up great cries, ſtriking their darts upon their ſhields to frighten the horſe; and then moving all together, they ſprung forwards upon the barbarians with all their force, who did not wait their charge, but took to their heels and fled univerſally, except Tiſſaphernes, who ſtood his ground with a ſmall part of his troops.

Cyrus ſaw with pleaſure the enemy routed by the Greeks, and was proclaimed king by thoſe around him; but he did not give himſelf up to a vain joy, nor as yet reckoned himſelf victor. He perceived that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in flank, and marched directly againſt him with ſix hundred horſe. He killed Artagerſes, who commanded the king's guard of ſix thouſand horſe, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. Diſcovering his brother, he cried out, with his eyes ſparkling with rage, I ſee him,

and ſpurred againſt him, followed only by his principal officers, for his troops had quitted their ranks to follow the run-aways, which was an eſſential fault.

The battle then became a ſingle combat in ſome meaſure between Artaxerxes and Cyrus, and the two brothers were ſeen tranſported with rage and fury, endeavouring, like Eteocles and Polynices, to plunge their ſwords into each others hearts, and to aſſure themſelves of the throne by the death of their rival.

Cyrus having opened his way through thoſe who were drawn up in battle before Artaxerxes, joined him, and killed his horſe, that fell with him to the ground; he roſe, and was remounted upon another, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a ſecond wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes that it would prove his laſt. The king, like a lion wounded by the huntſman, was only the more furious from the ſmart, and ſprung forwards, impetuouſly puſhing his horſe againſt Cyrus, who running headlong, and without regard to his perſon, threw himſelf into the midſt of a flight of darts aimed at him from all ſides, and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the inſtant that all the reſt diſcharged upon him. Cyrus fell dead; ſome ſay by the wound given him by the king, others affirm that he was killed by a Ca-

rian

rian ſoldier. The greateſt perſons of his court reſolving not to ſurvive ſo good a maſter, were all killed around his body: a certain proof, ſays Xenophon, that he well knew how to chuſe his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Ariæus, who ought to have been the firmeſt of all his adherents, fled with the left wing, as ſoon as he heard of his death.

Artaxerxes, after having cauſed the head and right hand of his brother to be cut off by the eunuch Meſabates, purſued the enemy into their camp. Ariæus had not ſtopped there, but having paſſed through it, continued his retreat to the place where the army had encamped the day before, which was about four leagues diſtant.

Tiſſaphernes, after the defeat of the greateſt part of his left wing by the Greeks, led on the reſt againſt them, and, by the ſide of the river, paſſed through the light armed infantry of the Greeks, who opened to give him a paſſage, and made their diſcharges upon him as he paſſed, without loſing a man. They were commanded by Epiſthenes of Amphipolis, who was eſteemed an able captain. Tiſſaphernes kept on without returning to the charge, becauſe he perceived he was too weak, and went forward to Cyrus's camp, where he found the king, who was plundering it, but had not been

able to force the quarter defended by the Greeks, who ſaved their baggage.

The Greeks on their ſide, and Artaxerxes on his, who did not know what had paſſed elſewhere, believed each of them that they had gained the victory; the firſt, becauſe they had put the enemy to flight, and purſued them; and the king, becauſe he had killed his brother, beat the troops he had fought, and plundered their camp. The event was ſoon cleared up on both ſides. Tiſſaphernes, upon his arrival at the camp, informed the king, that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, and purſued it with great vigour; and the Greeks, on their ſide, learnt, that the king, in purſuing Cyrus's left, had penetrated into the camp. Upon this advice the king rallied his troops, and marched in queſt of the enemy; and Clearchus being returned from purſuing the Perſians, advanced to ſupport the camp.

The two armies were very ſoon near each other, when, by a movement made by the king, he ſeemed to intend to charge the Greeks on their left, who, fearing to be ſurrounded on all ſides, wheeled about and halted, with the river on their backs, to prevent their being taken in the rear. Upon ſeeing that, the king changed his form of battle alſo, drew up his army in front of them, and marched on to the attack. As ſoon as the Greeks ſaw him

approach,

approach, they began to ſing the hymn of battle, and advanced againſt the enemy even with more ardour than in the firſt action.

The barbarians again began to fly, running farther than before, and were purſued to a village at the foot of a hill, upon which their horſe halted. The king's ſtandard was obſerved to be there, which was a golden eagle upon the top of a pike, having its wings diſplayed. The Greeks preparing to purſue them, they abandoned alſo the hill, fled precipitately with all their troops broke, and in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion. Clearchus having drawn up the Greeks at the bottom of the hill, ordered Lycias, the Syracuſan, and another, to go up it, and obſerve what paſſed in the plain. They returned with an account that the enemy fled on all ſides, and that their whole army was routed.

As it was almoſt night, the Greeks laid down their arms to reſt themſelves, much ſurprized that neither Cyrus, nor any from him, appeared; and imagining, that he was either engaged in the purſuit of the enemy, or was making haſte to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome important place (for they were ſtill ignorant of his death, and the defeat of his army) they determined to return to their camp, and found the greateſt part of the baggage taken, with all the proviſions, and four hundred waggons

 laden

laden with corn and wine, which Cyrus had expreſsly cauſed to be carried along with the army for the Greeks, in caſe of any preſſing neceſſity. They paſſed the night in the camp, the greateſt part of them without any refreſhment, concluding that Cyrus was alive and victorious.

Amidſt the confuſion the Grecians were in after the battle, they ſent to Ariæus, as conqueror and commander in chief, upon Cyrus's death, to offer him the Perſian crown. In the mean time, the king, as conqueror, alſo on his ſide, ſent to them to ſurrender their arms, and implore his mercy; repreſenting to them, at the ſame time, that as they were in the heart of his dominions, ſurrounded with vaſt rivers and numberleſs nations, it would be impoſſible for them to eſcape his vengeance; and, therefore, they had nothing to do but to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity. Upon debating among themſelves what anſwer they ſhould return, Proxenus deſired to know of the heralds upon what terms the king demanded their arms: if as conqueror, it was in his power to take them; if upon any other footing, what would he give them in return. He was ſeconded by Xenophon, who ſaid, they had nothing left but their arms and their liberty, and that they could not preſerve the one without the other. Clearchus ſaid to the ſame effect, that if the king was diſpoſed to be their

friend,

friend, they ſhould be in a better capacity of ſerving him with their arms than without; if their enemy, they ſhould have need of them for their defence. Some, indeed, ſpoke in terms more complying; that as they had ſerved Cyrus faithfully, they would alſo ſerve Artaxerxes, if he would employ them, and provided he would, at the ſame time, put them in poſſeſſion of Egypt. At laſt it was agreed, they ſhould remain in the place where they were; and that if they advanced farther, or retreated back, it ſhould be looked upon as a declaration of war: ſo that by the iſſue of the debate, it appeared to have been managed ſo as to avoid giving a direct anſwer, but only to amuſe the king and gain time.

Whilſt this treaty was on foot, they received Ariæus's anſwer, that there were too many powerful men in Perſia to let him poſſeſs the throne; wherefore he intended to ſet out early the next morning on his return to Greece; and that, if they had a mind to accompany him, they ſhould join him that night in his camp: which accordingly they all did, except Milthocytus, a Thracian, who went with a party of three hundred men and forty horſe to the king. The reſt, in conjunction with Ariæus's forces, decamped by break of day, and continued their march until ſunt-ſet, when they diſ-

covered from the neighbouring villages, that the king was in purſuit of them.

Clearchus, who now undertook to conduct the Greeks, ordered his troops to halt, and prepared for an engagement. The king of Perſia, terrified by ſo bold an appearance, ſent heralds, not to demand their ſurrender, but to propoſe terms of peace and treaty. When Clearchus was informed of their arrival, he gave orders to bid them wait, and to tell them that he was not yet at leiſure to hear them. He aſſumed purpoſely an air of haughtineſs and grandeur, to denote his intrepidity, and, at the ſame time, to ſhew the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx. When he advanced with the moſt ſhewy of his officers, expreſsly choſen for the occaſion, and had heard what the heralds had to propoſe, he made anſwer, that they muſt begin with giving battle, becauſe the army being in want of proviſions, they had no time to loſe. The heralds having carried back this anſwer to their maſter, returned immediately; which ſhewed that the king, or whoever ſpoke in his name, was not very far diſtant. They ſaid they had orders to conduct them to villages, where they would find proviſions in abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly.

After three days ſtay, Tiſſaphernes arrived from the king, and inſinuated to them the good offices

he

he had done for their safety. Clearchus in his own defence urged, that they were engaged in this expedition without knowing the enemy against whom they were to contend; that they were free from all engagements, and had no design against the Persian king, unless he opposed their return. Tissaphernes seemingly granted their desire, and promised that they should be furnished with all necessary provisions in their march; and, to confirm their security, that he himself would be their companion on the way.

Accordingly, in a few days after they set out under his conduct; but, in their march, the barbarians encamping at about a league's distance from the Grecians, created some little distrusts and jealousies on both sides. In about fifty days, being got to the banks of the river Zabatus, Clearchus, to prevent things coming to an open rupture, had a conference with Tissaphernes. The result of their discourse was, that they had been misrepresented to each other by some of Clearchus's officers, and that he should bring them all to Tissaphernes, in order to detect those who were guilty. In consequence of this, it was agreed between them that there should be a general consultation of officers, in which those who had been remiss, or attempted to sow any dissensions between the two armies, should be exposed and punished.

Menon,

Menon, in particular, was ſuſpected on both ſides, and he was appointed among the number. In conſequence of this fatal reſolution, the five principal generals attended the ſucceeding day at the Perſian general's tent. Their names were, Clearchus, Menon, Proxenes, Agias, and Socrates; they, on a ſignal given, were immediately ſeized, their attendants put to the ſword, and themſelves, after being ſent bound to the king, were beheaded in his preſence.

Nothing could exceed the conſternation of the Greeks, when they were informed of the maſſacre of their generals: they were now near two thouſand miles from home, ſurrounded with great rivers, extenſive deſerts, and inimical nations, without any ſupplies of proviſions. In this ſtate of general dejection, they could think of taking neither nouriſhment nor repoſe; all now turned their eyes upon Xenophon, a young Athenian, who had been invited into Aſia by Proxenes, and had hitherto ſerved as a volunteer in the army. This was that Xenophon, afterwards ſo famous as an hiſtorian; and his conduct ſeemed equal to his eloquence, in which he ſurpaſſed all the reſt of mankind. This young general went to ſome of the Greek officers in the middle of the night, and repreſented to them that they had no time to loſe; that it was of the laſt importance to prevent the

bad

bad designs of the enemy; that, however small their number, they would render themselves formidable, if they behaved with boldness and resolution; that valour, and not multitudes, determines the success of arms; and that it was necessary, above all things, to nominate generals immediately; because an army without commanders, is like a body without a soul. A council was immediately held, at which an hundred officers were present; and Xenophon being desired to speak, deduced the reasons at large he had at first but lightly touched upon; and, by his advice, commanders were appointed. They were, Timasion for Clearchus, Xanthicles for Socrates, Cleanor for Agis, Philesius for Menon, and Xenophon for Proxenes.

Before the break of day they assembled the army. The generals made speeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon among the rest. "Fellow-soldiers, said he, the loss of so many brave men by vile treachery, and the being abandoned by our friends, is very deplorable; but we must not sink under our misfortunes; and, if we cannot conquer, let us chuse rather to perish gloriously, than to fall into the hands of barbarians, who would inflict upon us the greatest miseries; let us call to mind the glorious battles of Platæa, Thermopylæ, Salamis, and the many others wherein our ancestors, though with a small number, have fought and de-

feated

feated the innumerable armies of the Perfians, and thereby rendered the name alone of Greeks for ever formidable. It is to their invincible valour we owe the honour we poffefs of acknowledging no mafters upon earth but the gods, nor any happinefs but what confifts with liberty. Thofe gods, the avengers of perjury, and witneffes of the enemy's treafon, will be favourable to us; and, as they are offended by the violation of treaties, and take pleafure in humbling the proud, and exalting the low, they will alfo follow us to battle, and combat for us. For the reft, fellow-foldiers, we have no refuge but in victory, which muft be our hope, and will make us ample amends for whatever it cofts us to attain it. And I fhould believe, if it were your opinion, that for the making a more ready and lefs difficult retreat, it would be very proper to rid ourfelves of all the ufelefs baggage, and to keep only what is abfolutely neceffary in our march." All the foldiers that moment lifted up their hands, to fignify their approbation and confent to all that had been faid, and without lofs of time fet fire to their tents and carriages; fuch of them as had too much equipage, giving it others who had too little, and deftroying the reft.

Cherifophus, the Spartan general, led the van, and Xenophon, with Tymafion, brought up the rear. They bent their march towards the heads

of

of the great rivers, in order to paſs them where they were fordable. But they had made little way before they were followed by a party of the enemy's archers and ſlingers, commanded by Mithridates, which galled their rear, and wounded ſeveral of them, who being heavy armed, and without cavalry, could make no reſiſtance. To prevent the like inconvenience, Xenophon furniſhed two hundred Rhodians with ſlings, and mounted fifty more of his men upon baggage-horſes; ſo that when Mithridates came up with them a ſecond time, and with a much greater body, he repulſed them with loſs, and made good his retreat with this handful of men, until he arrived near the city of Lariſſa, on the banks of the Tigris. From thence they marched to another deſolate city, called Mepſila; and about four leagues from that place, Tiſſaphernes came up to them with his whole army in order of battle, but after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes were forced to retire. In a few days after, he ſecured an eminence over which the Grecians were obliged to make their way; which Xenophon perceiving, took a detachment of the army, and with great diligence gained the top of a mountain which commanded that eminence, from whence he eaſily diſlodged the enemy, and made good a paſſage for the reſt of his troops into the plain, where they found plenty of proviſions, though Tiſſaphernes

had

had done what he could before to burn and destroy the country.

But still they were under as great difficulties as ever, being bounded on the one hand by the Tigris, and on the other by inaccessible mountains, inhabited by the Carduci, a fierce and warlike people; and who, Xenophon says, had cut off an army of six score thousand Persians to a man, by reason of the difficulty of the ways. However, having no boats to cross the river, and the passage through the mountains opening into the rich plains of Armenia, they resolved to pursue their march that way. These barbarians soon took the alarm, but not being prepared to meet the Greeks in a body, they possessed themselves of the tops of the rocks and mountains, and from thence annoyed them with darts and great stones, which they threw down into the defiles through which they passed, in which they were also attacked by several other parties; and tho' their loss was not considerable, yet, what with storms and famine, besides seven tedious days march, and being continually forced to fight their way, they underwent more fatigue and hardship than they had suffered from the Persians during the whole expedition.

They found themselves soon after exposed to new dangers. Almost at the foot of the mountains, they came to a river two hundred feet in breadth,

breadth, called Centrites, which ſtopped their march. They had to defend themſelves againſt the enemy, who purſued them in the rear, and Armenians, the ſoldiers of the country, who defended the oppoſite ſide of the river. They attempted in vain to paſs it in a place where the water came up to their arm-pits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, againſt which the weight of their arms made them unable to reſiſt. By good fortune they diſcovered another place not ſo deep, where ſome ſoldiers had ſeen the people of the country paſs. It required abundance of addreſs, diligence, and valour, to keep off the enemy on both ſides of them. The army, however, paſſed the river at length without much loſs.

They marched forward with leſs interruption, paſſed the ſource of the Tigris, and arrived at the little river Teleboa, which is very beautiful, and has many villages on its banks. Here began the weſtern Armenia, which was governed by Tiribaſus, a ſatrap much beloved by the king, and who had the honour to help him to mount on horſeback when at the court. He offered to let the army paſs, and to ſuffer the ſoldiers to take all they wanted, on condition that they ſhould commit no ravages upon their march; which propoſal was accepted and ratified on each ſide. Tiribaſus

kept always a flying camp at a small distance from the army. There fell a great quantity of snow, which gave the troops some inconvenience; and they learnt from a prisoner, that Tiribasus had a design to attack the Greeks at a pass of the mountains, in a defile through which they must necessarily march. They prevented him, by seizing that post, after having put the enemy to flight. After some days march through the desert, they passed the Euphrates near its source, not having the water above their middles.

They suffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and prevented respiration; so that it was thought necessary to sacrifice to the wind, upon which it seemed to abate. They marched on in snow five or six feet deep, which killed several servants and beasts of burden, besides thirty soldiers. They made fires during the night, for they found plenty of wood. All the next day they continued their march through the snow, when many of them, from the excess of hunger, followed with languor, or fainting, continued lying upon the ground through weakness and want of spirits: when something had been given them to eat, they found themselves relieved, and continued their march.

After a march of seven days they arrived at the river Araxes, called also the Phasus, which is about

an

an hundred feet in breadth. Two days after they discovered the Phasians, the Chalybes, and the Taochians, who kept the pass of the mountain to prevent their descending into the plain. They saw it was impossible to avoid coming to a battle with them, and resolved to give it the same day. Xenophon, who had observed that the enemy defended only the ordinary passage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, proposed the sending a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the enemy, which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all suspicion of their design by a march in the night, and by making a false attack by the main road, to amuse the barbarians. This was accordingly executed, the enemy put to flight, and the pass cleared. Thus, after twelve or fifteen days march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Tecqua, from whence they descried the sea. The first who perceived it raised great shouts of joy for a considerable time, which made Xenophon imagine that the vanguard was attacked, and went with all haste to support it. As he approached nearer, the cry of the sea! the sea! was heard distinctly, and the alarm changed into joy and gaiety; and when they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confused noise of the whole army crying out together, the sea! the sea! whilst they could not refrain from

tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers; and then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of ſtones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms.

From thence they advanced to the mountains of Colchis, one of which was higher than the reſt, and of that the people of the country had poſſeſſed themſelves. The Greeks drew up in battle at the bottom of it to aſcend, for the acceſs was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper to march in line of battle, but by files, becauſe the ſoldiers could not keep their ranks from the inequality of the ground, that in ſome places was eaſy, in others difficult to climb, which might diſcourage them. That advice was approved, and the army formed according to it. The heavy-armed troops amounted to fourſcore files, each conſiſting of about one hundred men; with eighteen hundred light-armed ſoldiers, divided in three bodies, one of which was poſted on the right, another on the left, and a third in the center. After having encouraged his troops, by repreſenting to them that this was the laſt obſtacle they had to ſurmount, and having implored the aſſiſtance of the gods, the army began to aſcend the hill. The enemy were not able to ſupport their charge, and diſperſed. They paſſed the mountain, and en-

camped

camped in villages, where they found provifions in abundance.

A very ftrange accident happened there to the army, which put them into great confternation. The foldiers finding abundance of bee-hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomiting and fluxes, attended with raving fits; fo that thofe who were leaft ill feemed like drunken men, and the reft either furioufly mad or dying. The earth was ftrewed with their bodies as after a defeat; however, none of them died, and the diftemper ceafed the next day, about the fame hour it had taken them. The third or fourth day the foldiers got up, but in the condition people are in after taking a violent medicine.

Two days after, the army arrived near Trebifond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, fituated upon the Euxine, or Black Sea, in the province of Colchis. Here they lay encamped for thirty days, and acquitted themfelves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and the other deities, to obtain an happy return into their own country: they alfo celebrated the games of horfe and foot races, wreftling, boxing, the pancratium, the whole attended with the greateft joy and folemnity. Here Xenophon formed a project of fettling them in thofe parts, and founding a Grecian colony, which was approved of by fome; but his enemies repre-

senting it to the army only as a more honourable way of abandoning them, and to the inhabitants as a design to subdue and enslave the country, he was forced to give over the enterprize. However, the noise of it had this good effect, that the natives did what they could in a friendly manner to procure their departure, advising them to go by sea as the safest way, and furnished them with a sufficient number of transports for that purpose.

Accordingly, they embarked with a fair wind, and the next day got into the harbour of Sinope, where Cherisophus met them with some gallies; but instead of the money they had also expected from him, he only told them they should be paid their arrears as soon as they got out of the Euxine Sea. But this answer occasioned a good deal of murmuring and discontent among them; so that they resolved to put themselves under one general, desiring Xenophon in the most pressing and affectionate terms to accept of that command, which he modestly declined, and procured the appointment to fall upon Cherisophus. But he enjoyed it not above six or seven days; for no sooner were they arrived at Heraclea, than the army deposed him, for refusing to extort a sum of money from the inhabitants of that city; which being a Grecian colony, Xenophon likewise refused to concern himself in that affair: so that the army being

disappointed

diſappointed in their hopes of plunder, fell into a mutiny, and divided into three bodies. When parted from their barbarian enemies, they were happily reunited and encamped at the port of Calpe, where they ſettled the command as before, ſubſtituting Neon in the room of Cheriſophus, who died here, and making it death for any man henceforward to propoſe the dividing of the army. But being ſtraitened for proviſions, they were forced to ſpread themſelves in the vallies, where Pharnabazus's horſe, being joined by the inhabitants, cut in pieces five hundred of them; the reſt eſcaping to a hill, were reſcued and brought off by Xenophon, who after this led them through a large foreſt, where Pharnabazus had poſted his troops to oppoſe their paſſage; but they entirely defeated him, and purſued their march to Chryſopolis of Chalcedon, having got a great deal of booty in their way, and from thence to Byzantium.

From thence he led them to Salmydeſſa, to ſerve Seuthes, prince of Thrace, who had before ſolicited Xenophon by his envoys to bring troops to his aid, in order to his re-eſtabliſhment in his father's dominions, of which his enemies had deprived him. He had made Xenophon great promiſes for himſelf and his troops; but when he had done him the ſervice he wanted, he was ſo far

from keeping his word, that he did not give them the pay agreed upon. Xenophon reproached him exceedingly with this breach of faith, imputing his perfidy to his minister Heraclides, who thought to make his court to his master by saving him a sum of money at the expence of justice, faith, and honesty, qualities which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince, as they contribute the most to his reputation, as well as to the success of affairs, and the security of a state. But that treacherous minister, who looked upon honour, probity, and justice, as mere chimeras, and who thought that there was nothing real but the possession of much money, had no desire, in consequence, but of enriching himself by any means whatsoever, and robbed his master first with impunity, and all his subjects along with him. However, continued Xenophon, every wise man, especially in authority and command, ought to regard justice, probity, and the faith of engagements, as the most precious treasure he can possess; and as an assured resource and an infallible support in all the events that can happen. Heraclides was the more in the wrong for acting in this manner with regard to the troops, as he was a native of Greece, and not a Thracian; but avarice had extinguished in this man all sense of honour.

Whilst

Whilſt the diſpute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmeſt, Charminus and Polynices arrived as ambaſſadors from Lacedæmon, and brought advice, that the republic had declared war againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus; that Thimbron had already embarked with the troops; and promiſed a darick a month to every ſoldier, two to each officer, and four to the colonels, who ſhould engage in the ſervice. Xenophon accepted the offer, and having obtained from Seuthes, by the mediation of the ambaſſadors, part of the pay due to him, he went by ſea to Lampſacus with the army, which amounted at that time to almoſt ſix thouſand men. From thence he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the province of Troas. Having met near Parthenia, where ended the expedition of the Greeks, a great nobleman returning into Perſia, he took him, his wife and children, with all his equipage, and by that means found himſelf in a condition to beſtow great liberalities amongſt the ſoldiers, and to make them a ſatisfactory amends for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained. Thimbron at length arrived, who took upon him the command of the troops, and having joined them with his own, marched againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus.

Such was the event of Cyrus's expedition. Xenophon, who has himſelf compoſed a moſt beau-

tiful history on the subject, reckons from the first setting out of that prince's army from the city of Ephesus, to their arrival where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty parasangas, or leagues, and fourscore and thirteen days march; and in their return from the place of battle to Corcyra, a city upon the coast of the Euxine, or Black Sea, six hundred and twenty parasangas, or leagues, and one hundred and twenty days march; and, adding both together, he says, the way going and coming was eleven hundred and fifty-five parasangas, or leagues, and two hundred and fifteen days march; and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of rest, was fifteen months.

This retreat of the ten thousand Greeks has always passed, among judges of the art of war, as a most extraordinary undertaking; and it, in some measure, inspired them ever after with a contempt for the power of the Persians; it taught them, that their dominions could be invaded without danger, and that marching into Persia was but pursuing an unresisting enemy, that only appeared to offer victory rather than battle.

In the mean time, while Greece was gaining fame in Persia, Athens was losing its honour at home. Though it had now some breathing-time to recover from its late confusions, yet still there

were the feeds of rancour remaining, and the citizens oppofed each other with unremitting malice. Socrates was the firft object that fell a facrifice to thefe popular diffenfions. We have already feen this great man, who was the fon of an obfcure citizen at Athens, emerging from the meannefs of his birth, and giving examples of courage, moderation, and wifdom; we have feen him faving the life of Alcibiades in battle, of refufing to concur in the edict which unjuftly doomed the fix Athenian generals to death, of withftanding the thirty tyrants, and of fpurning the bigotry and perfecution of the times with the moft acute penetration, and the moft cauftic raillery. He poffeffed unexampled good-nature, and an univerfal love to mankind; he was ready to pity vices in others, while he was in a great meafure free from them himfelf; however, he knew his own defects, and if he was proud of any thing, it was in the being thought to have none. He feemed, fays Libanius, the common father of the republic, fo attentive was he to the happinefs and advantage of his whole country. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the inftruction of youth, in order to fow the feeds of virtue in a foil more fit to produce the fruits of it. He

 had

had no open ſchool like the reſt of the philoſophers, nor ſet times for his leſſons; he had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a profeſſor's chair; he was the philoſopher of all times and ſeaſons; he taught in all places, and upon all occaſions; in walking, converſation at meals, in the army, and in the midſt of the camp, in the public aſſemblies of the ſenate or people. Such was the man whom a faction in the city had long devoted to deſtruction; he had been, for many years before his death, the object of their ſatire and ridicule. Ariſtophanes, the comic poet, was engaged to expoſe him upon the ſtage: he compoſed a piece called the Clouds, wherein he introduced the philoſopher in a baſket, uttering the moſt ridiculous abſurdities. Socrates, who was preſent at the exhibition of his own character, ſeemed not to feel the leaſt emotion; and, as ſome ſtrangers were preſent who deſired to know the original for whom the play was intended, he roſe up from his ſeat, and ſhewed himſelf during the whole repreſentation. This was the firſt blow ſtruck at him, and it was not till twenty years after that Melitus appeared in a more formal manner as his accuſer, and entered a regular proceſs againſt him. His accuſation conſiſted of two heads: the firſt was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republic, and introduced new divinities: the

ſecond,

second, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring, that sentence of death ought to pass against him. How far the whole charge affected him is not easy to determine: it is certain, that amidst so much zeal and superstition as then reigned in Athens, he never durst openly oppose the received religion, and was therefore forced to preserve an outward shew of it; but it is very probable, from the discourses he frequently held with his friends, that in his heart he despised and laughed at their monstrous opinions and ridiculous mysteries, as having no other foundation than the fables of the poets; and that he had attained to the notion of the one only true God, insomuch, that upon the account both of his belief of the Deity, and the exemplariness of his life, some have thought fit to rank him with the Christian philosophers.

As soon as the conspiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lycias, the most able orator of his time, brought him an elaborate discourse of his own composing, wherein he had set forth the reasons and measures of Socrates in their full force, and interspersed the whole with tender and pathetic strokes, capable of moving the most obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleasure, and approved it very much; but, as it was more conformable to the rules of rheto-

ric, than the ſentiments and fortitude of a philoſopher, he told him frankly, that it did not ſuit him. Upon which Lycias having aſked him how it was poſſible to be well done, and at the ſame time not ſuit him? In the ſame manner, ſaid he, uſing according to his cuſtom a vulgar compariſon, that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or ſhoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be wanting on his part; but which, however, would not ſuit me. He perſiſted, therefore, inflexibly in the reſolution not to demean himſelf by begging ſuffrages in the low abject manner common at that time. He employed neither artifice nor the glitter of eloquence; he had no recourſe either to ſolicitation or entreaty; he brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their ſighs and tears: nevertheleſs, though he firmly refuſed to make uſe of any other voice but his own in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the ſubmiſſive poſture of a ſuppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal; it was from a noble and intrepid aſſurance, reſulting from greatneſs of ſoul, and the conſciouſneſs of his truth and innocence; ſo that his defence had nothing weak or timorous in it: his diſcourſe was bold, manly, generous, without paſſion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philoſopher,

with

with no other ornament than that of truth, and brightened universally with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was present, transcribed it afterwards, and, without any addition, formed from it the work which he calls the Apology of Socrates, one of the most consummate master-pieces of antiquity. I shall here make an extract from it.

Upon the day assigned, the proceedings commenced in the usual forms; the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus spoke: the worse his cause, and the less provided it was with proofs, the more occasion he had for address and art to cover its weakness; he omitted nothing that might render the adverse party odious, and instead of reasons, which could not but fail him, he substituted the delusive glitter of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in observing that he could not tell what impression the discourse of his accuser might make upon the judges, owns, that for his part, he scarce knew how it had affected him, they had given such artful colouring and likelihood to their arguments, though there was not the least word of truth in all they had advanced.

" I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of instilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in regard to the worship of the gods, as the rules of goverament. You know, Athenians, that I never made

made it my profession to teach, nor can envy, however violent against me, reproach me with ever having sold my instructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me in this respect, which is my poverty. Always equally ready to communicate my thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them entire leisure to question or answer me. I lend myself to every one who is desirous of becoming virtuous; and if, amongst those who hear me, there are any that prove either good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, nor the vices of the other, to which I have not contributed, are to be ascribed to me. My whole employment is to persuade the young and old against too much love for the body, for riches, and all other precarious things, of whatsoever nature they be; and against too little regard for the soul, which ought to be the object of their affection. For I incessantly urge upon you, that virtue does not proceed from riches; but, on the contrary, riches from virtue; and that all the other goods of human life, as well public as private, have their source in the same principle.

" If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confess, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deserve to be punished. If what I say be not true, it is most easy to convict me of my falshood. I see here a great number of my disciples; they have only

only to appear. But, perhaps, the reserve and confideration for a master who has instructed them, will prevent them from declaring against me; at least their fathers, brothers, and uncles cannot, as good relations and good citizens, dispense with their not standing forth to demand vengeance against the corrupter of their sons, brothers, and nephews. But these are the persons who take upon them my defence, and interest themselves in the success of my cause.

"Pass on me what sentence you please, Athenians; but I can neither repent or change my conduct; I must not abandon or suspend a function which God himself has imposed on me. Now he has charged me with the care of instructing my fellow-citizens. If, after having faithfully kept all the posts wherein I was placed by our generals at Potidæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death should at this time make me abandon that in which the divine Providence has placed me, by commanding me to pass my life in the study of philosophy, for the instruction of myself and others; this would be a most criminal desertion indeed, and make me highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal as an impious man, who does not believe the gods. Should you resolve to acquit me; for the future, I should not hesitate to make answer, Athenians, I honour and love you; but

but I ſhall chuſe rather to obey God than you, and to my lateſt breath ſhall never renounce my philoſophy, nor ceaſe to exhort and reprove you according to my cuſtom, by telling each of you, when you come in my way, My good friend and citizen of the moſt famous city in the world for wiſdom and valour, are you not aſhamed to have no other thoughts than that of amaſſing wealth and of acquiring glory, credit, and dignities, whilſt you neglect the treaſures of prudence, truth, and wiſdom, and take no pains in rendering your ſoul as good and perfect as it is capable of being.

" I am reproached with abject fear and meanneſs of ſpirit, for being ſo buſy in imparting my advice to every one in private, and for having always avoided to be preſent in your aſſemblies, to give my counſels to my country. I think I have ſufficiently proved my courage and fortitude both in the field, where I have borne arms with you, and in the ſenate, where I alone oppoſed the unjuſt ſentence you pronounced againſt the ten captains, who had not taken up and interred the bodies of thoſe who were killed and drowned in the ſea-fight near the iſland of Arginuſæ; and when, upon more than one occaſion, I oppoſed the violent and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants. What is it then that has prevented me from appearing in your aſſemblies? It is that dæmon, that voice divine,

vine, which you have ſo often heard me mention, and Melitus has taken ſo much pains to ridicule. That ſpirit has attached itſelf to me from my infancy: it is a voice which I never hear but when it would prevent me from perſiſting in ſomething I have reſolved; for it never exhorts me to undertake any thing: it is the ſame being that has always oppoſed me when I would have intermeddled in the affairs of the republic, and that with the greateſt reaſon; for I ſhould have been amongſt the dead long ago, had I been concerned in the meaſures of the ſtate, without effecting any thing to the advantage of myſelf or our country. Do not take it ill, I beſeech you, if I ſpeak my thoughts without diſguiſe, and with truth and freedom. Every man who would generouſly oppoſe a whole people, either amongſt us or elſewhere, and who inflexibly applies himſelf to prevent the violation of the laws, and the practice of iniquity in a government, will never do ſo long with impunity. It is abſolutely neceſſary for him, who would contend for juſtice, if he has any thoughts of living, to remain in a private ſtation, and never to have any ſhare in public affairs.

" For the reſt, Athenians, if, in the extreme danger I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour of thoſe, who upon leſs emergencies have implored and ſupplicated their judges with tears,

and have brought forth their children, relations, and friends; it is not through pride and obstinacy, or any contempt for you, but solely for your honour, and for that of the whole city. You should know, that there are amongst our citizens those who do not regard death as an evil, and who give that name only to injustice and infamy. At my age, and with the reputation, true or false, which I have, would it be consistent for me, after all the lessons I have given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it myself, and to bely in my last action all the principles and sentiments of my past life?

"But without speaking of my fame, which I should extremely injure by such a conduct, I do not think it allowable to intreat a judge, nor to be absolved by supplications. He ought to be persuaded and convinced. The judge does not sit upon the bench to shew favour, by violating the laws, but to do justice in conforming to them. He does not swear to discharge with impunity whom he pleases, but to do justice where it is due: we ought not, therefore, to accustom you to perjury, nor you to suffer yourselves to be accustomed to it; for, in so doing, both the one and the other of us equally injure justice and religion, and both are criminals.

"Do

"Do not, therefore, expect from me, Athenians, that I should have recourse amongst you to means which I believe neither honest nor lawful, especially upon this occasion, wherein I am accused of impiety by Melitus; for, if I should influence you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate your oaths, it would be undeniably evident, that I teach you not to believe in the gods; and even in defending and justifying myself, should furnish my adversaries with arms against me, and prove that I believe no Divinity. But I am very far from such bad thoughts: I am more convinced of the existence of God than my accusers; and so convinced, that I abandon myself to God and you, that you may judge of me as you shall deem best for yourselves."

Socrates pronounced this discourse with a firm and intrepid tone: his air, his action, his visage, expressed nothing of the accused; he seemed the master of his judges, from the assurance and greatness of soul with which he spoke, without however losing any thing of the modesty natural to him. But how slight soever the proofs were against him, the faction was powerful enough to find him guilty. There was the form of a process against him, and his irreligion was the pretence upon which it was grounded, but his death was certainly a concerted thing. His steady uninterrupted course of obsti-

nate virtue, which had made him in many cafes appear fingular, and oppofe whatever he thought illegal or unjuft, without any regard to times or perfons, had procured him a great deal of envy and ill will.

By his firft fentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty; but when, by his anfwer, he appeared to appeal from their tribunal to that of juftice and pofterity; when, inftead of confeffing himfelf guilty, he demanded rewards and honours from the ftate, the judges were fo very much offended, that they condemned him to drink hemlock, a method of execution then in ufe amongft them.

Socrates received this fentence with the utmoft compofure. Apollodorus, one of his difciples, launching out into bitter invectives and lamentations that his mafter fhould die *innocent*: "What, replied Socrates with a fmile, would you have me die guilty? Melitus and Anytus may kill, but they cannot hurt me."

After his fentence, he ftill continued with the fame ferene and intrepid afpect with which he had long enforced virtue, and held tyrants in awe. When he entered his prifon, which now became the refidence of virtue and probity, his friends followed him thither, and continued to vifit him during the interval between his condemnation and death, which lafted for thirty days. The caufe

of

of that long delay was, the Athenians ſent every year a ſhip to the iſle of Delos, to offer certain ſacrifices, and it was prohibited to put any perſon to death in the city from the time the prieſt of Apollo had crowned the poop of this veſſel as a ſignal of its departure, till the ſame veſſel ſhould return: ſo that ſentence having been paſſed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was neceſſary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval, death had ſufficient opportunities to preſent itſelf before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his conſtancy to the proof, not only by the ſevere rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual proſpect and cruel expectation of an event of which nature is always abhorrent. In this ſad condition he did not ceaſe to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind which his friends had always admired in him. He entertained them with the ſame temper he had always expreſſed; and Crito obſerves, that the evening before his death, he ſlept as peaceably as at any other time. He compoſed alſo an hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of Æſop's fables into verſe.

The day before, or the ſame day that the ſhip was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his

his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning, to let him know that bad news, and, at the same time, that it depended only upon himself to quit the prison; that the jailer was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates laughed at this proposal, and asked him, whether he knew any place out of Attica where people did not die? Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed him to take the advantage of so precious an opportunity, adding argument upon argument, to induce his consent, and to engage him to resolve upon escape: without mentioning the inconsolable grief he should suffer for the death of such a friend, how should he support the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe it was in his power to have saved him, but that he would not sacrifice a small part of his wealth for that purpose: can the people ever be persuaded that so wise a man as Socrates would not quit his prison, when he might do it with all possible security? Perhaps he might fear to expose his friends, or to occasion the loss of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty: ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preservation of Socrates? Even strangers themselves dispute that honour with them, many of whom have come expressly with considerable sums of money to pur-

chase

chaſe his eſcape, and declare, that they ſhould think themſelves highly honoured to receive him amongſt them, and to ſupply him abundantly with all he ſhould have occaſion for: ought he to abandon himſelf to enemies who have occaſioned his being condemned unjuſtly, and can he think it allowable to betray his own cauſe? It is not eſſential to his goodneſs and juſtice to ſpare his fellow-citizens the guilt of innocent blood: but if all theſe motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned in regard to himſelf, can he be inſenſible to the intereſts of his children? In what a condition does he leave them; and can he forget the father, to remember only the philoſopher?

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praiſed his zeal, and expreſſed his gratitude; but before he could give into his opinion, was for examining whether it was juſt for him to depart out of priſon without the conſent of the Athenians. The queſtion therefore here is, to know whether a man condemned to die, though unjuſtly, can without a crime eſcape from juſtice and the laws. Socrates held it was unjuſt; and, therefore, nobly refuſed to eſcape from priſon. He reverenced the laws of his country, and reſolved to obey them in all things, even in his death.

At length the fatal ſhip returned to Athens, which was in a manner the ſignal for the death of

Socrates. The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was ſick, repaired to the priſon early in the morning. The jailer deſired them to wait a little, becauſe the eleven magiſtrates (who had the direction of the priſons) were at that time ſignifying to the priſoner that he was to die the ſame day. Preſently after they entered, and found Socrates, whoſe chains had been taken off, ſitting by Xantippe, his wife, who held one of his children in her arms; as ſoon as ſhe perceived them, ſetting up great cries, ſobbing, and tearing her face and hair, ſhe made the priſon reſound with her complaints: Oh, my dear Socrates! your friends are come to ſee you this day for the laſt time! He deſired ſhe might be taken away, and ſhe was immediately carried home.

Socrates paſſed the reſt of the day with his friends, and diſcourſed with them with his uſual chearfulneſs and tranquillity. The ſubject of converſation was the moſt important, and adapted to the preſent conjuncture; that is to ſay, the immortality of the ſoul. What gave occaſion to this diſcourſe was, a queſtion introduced in a manner by chance, Whether a true philoſopher ought not to deſire, and take pains to die? This propoſition taken too literally, implied an opinion, that a philoſopher might kill himſelf. Socrates ſhews that nothing is more unjuſt than this notion; and, that man appertain-

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ing to God, who formed and placed him with his own hand in the poſt he poſſeſſes, cannot abandon it without his permiſſion, nor depart from life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philoſopher to entertain this love for death? It can be only the hope of that happineſs which he expects in another life; and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the ſoul's immortality.

Socrates employed the laſt day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important ſubject; from which converſation Plato's admirable dialogue, intitled the Phædon, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the ſoul immortal, and refutes all the objections againſt it, which are very nearly the ſame as are made at this day.

When Socrates had done ſpeaking, Crito deſired him to give him, and the reſt of his friends, his laſt inſtructions in regard to his children and other affairs, that by executing them, they might have the conſolation of doing him ſome pleaſure. I ſhall recommend nothing to you this day, replied Socrates, more than I have already done, which is, to take care of yourſelves. You cannot do yourſelves a greater ſervice, nor do me and my family a greater pleaſure. Crito having aſked him afterwards in what manner he thought fit to

be buried: As you pleafe, faid Socrates, if you can lay hold of me, and I efcape not out of your hands. At the fame time, looking on his friends with a fmile, I can never perfuade Crito, that Socrates is he who converfes with you, and difpofes the feveral parts of his difcourfe, for he always imagines that I am what he is going to fee dead in a little while; he confounds me with my carcafe, and therefore afks me how I would be interred. On finifhing thefe words, he rofe up, and went to bathe himfelf in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He fpoke to them for fome time, gave his orders to the women who took care of them, and then difmiffed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid himfelf down upon his bed.

The fervant of the eleven entered at the fame inftant, and having informed him that the time for drinking the hemlock was come (which was at funfet) the fervant was fo much afflicted with forrow, that he turned his back and fell a weeping. See, faid Socrates, the good heart of this man; fince my imprifonment he has often come to fee me, and to converfe with me; he is more worthy than all his fellows: how heartily the poor man weeps for me. This is a remarkable example, and might

teach

teach those in an office of this kind how they ought to behave to all prisoners, but more especially to persons of merit, when they are so unhappy as to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates asked what it was necessary for him to do? Nothing more, replied the servant, than as soon as you have drank off the draught, to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards lie down upon your bed. He took the cup without any emotion, or change in his colour or countenance; and regarding the man with a steady and assured look: "Well, said he, what say you of this drink; may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told there was only enough for one dose: "At least, continued he, we may say our prayers to the gods, as it is our duty, and implore them to make our exit from this world, and our last stage happy, which is what I most ardently beg of them." After having spoke these words, he kept silence for some time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity and serenity of aspect, not to be expressed or conceived.

Till then his friends, with great violence to themselves, had refrained from tears; but after he had drank the potion, they were no longer their own masters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears almost the whole conversation, began then to raise great cries, and to lament with such

ſuch exceſſive grief, as pierced the hearts of all that were preſent. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his uſual mildneſs and good-nature. "What are you doing? ſaid he to them. I wonder at you! Oh! what is become of your virtue? Was it not for this I ſent away the women, that they might not fall into theſe weakneſſes; for I have always heard you ſay that we ought to die peaceably, and bleſſing the gods. Be at eaſe, I beg you, and ſhew more conſtancy and reſolution." He then obliged them to reſtrain their tears.

In the mean time, he kept walking to and fro; and when he found his legs grow weary, he laid down upon his back, as he had been directed.

The poiſon then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered, without doubt to prevent any thing from diſturbing him in his laſt moments, "Crito, ſaid he, we owe a cock to Æſculapius; diſcharge that vow for me, and pray do not forget it." Soon after which he breathed his laſt. Crito went to his body, and cloſed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates, in the firſt year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, and the ſeventieth of his age.

It

It was not till some time after the death of this great man, that the people of Athens perceived their mistake, and began to repent of it; their hatred being satisfied, their prejudices expired, and time having given them an opportunity for reflection, the notorious injustice of the sentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but discourses in favour of Socrates. The Academy, the Lycæum, private houses, public walks, and market-places, seemed still to re-echo the sound of his loved voice. "Here, said they, he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place he gave us his admirable lessons, and sometimes made us seasonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the pursuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for such important services?" Athens was in universal mourning and consternation. The schools were shut up, and all exercises suspended. The accusers were called to account for the innocent blood they had caused to be shed. Melitus was condemned to die, and the rest banished. Plutarch observes, that all those who had any share in this black calumny, were held in such abomination amongst the citizens, that no one would give them fire, answer them any question, nor go into the same bath with them, and they had the place cleaned

cleaned where they had bathed, left they should be polluted by touching it; which drove them into such despair, that many of them killed themselves.

The Athenians, not contented with having punished his accusers, caused a statue of brass to be erected to him, of the workmanship of the celebrated Lysippus, and placed it in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city. Their respect and gratitude rose even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demi-god, which they called the Chapel of Socrates.

CHAP. XII.

From the Death of Socrates, to the Death of Epaminondas.

HITHERTO we have pursued the Athenians, both in their successes and their defeats, with peculiar attention: while they took the lead in the affairs of Greece, it was necessary to place them on the fore-ground of the picture; but we must now change the scene; and, leaving them to act an obscure part, go to those states who successively took the lead after their downfal.

The

The Spartans ſeem to be the firſt ſtate, after the Athenians, that gave laws to the reſt of the Greeks; their old jealouſies began to revive againſt the petty ſtates that had formerly ſided againſt them: and the Eleans were the firſt upon whom they fell, under a pretence that they (the Spartans) had not been admitted by that ſtate to the Olympic games, as well as the reſt of the Grecians. The Eleans having formerly declared war, and being upon the point of plundering the city of Elis, were taken into the alliance of Sparta, and the conquerors now aſſumed and enjoyed the title of the Protectors and Arbitrators of Greece. Soon after, Ageſilaus, who was choſen king of Sparta, was ſent into Aſia with an army, under pretence of freeing the Grecian cities. He gained a ſignal victory over Tiſſaphernes, near the river Pactolus, where he forced the enemy's camp, and found conſiderable plunder. This ſucceſs induced the Perſian monarch, inſtead of meeting Ageſilaus openly in the field, to ſubvert his intereſt among the Grecian ſtates by the power of bribery; and indeed this confederacy was now ſo weakened, its concord and unanimity ſo totally deſtroyed, that they were open to every offer: the love of money was now rooted in their affections; and the Spartans were the only people that, for a while, ſeemed to diſdain it: but the contagion ſtill ſpreading, even they, at laſt, yielded

to its allurements; and every man ſought private emolument, without attending to the good of his country.

The Thebans, as they were the firſt that were gained over to the Perſian intereſt, ſo they were the moſt active in promoting it. To ſtrengthen their alliance, they ſent ambaſſadors to the Athenians, with a long repreſentation of the preſent poſture of affairs, wherein they artfully inſinuated their zeal and affection to that ſtate; from thence they took occaſion to inveigh againſt the tyranny of Sparta; and concluded with telling them, that now was the time to throw off the yoke, and to recover their former ſplendor and authority. The Athenians, though they had no ſhare of the Perſian money, needed not many arguments to engage them in a rupture of this kind, for which they had been long waiting a fit opportunity.

Ageſilaus, who had carried on the war in Perſia with ſucceſs, received news of the war being again broke out in Greece, with orders, at the ſame time, for him to return home. He had ſet his heart upon the entire conqueſt of Perſia, and was preparing to march farther into the country; but ſuch was his deference to the laws, and ſuch his ſubmiſſion to the Ephori, that he inſtantly obeyed their mandate; but left four thouſand men in Aſia, to maintain his ſucceſſes there. The Spartans, however,

however, could not wait his arrival; they found confederacies thickening on their hands, and they were ready to be attacked on all ſides. The Athenians, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, and Eubœans, joined againſt them, and made up a body of twenty-four thouſand men; both ſides encamped near Sicyon, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and ſoon came to a regular engagement. The Spartan allies at firſt were entirely routed; but the Spartans themſelves turned the ſcale of victory by their ſingle valour, and came off conquerors with the loſs of but eight men. This victory, however, was in ſome meaſure overbalanced by a loſs at ſea, which the Spartans ſuſtained near Cnidus. Conon, the Athenian general, being appointed to command the Perſian fleet againſt them, took fifty of their ſhips, and purſued the reſt into port. Ageſilaus, on the other hand, obtained a conſiderable victory over the Athenians and their allies upon the plains of Coronea. Thus was the war continued by furious but undeciſive engagements, in which neither ſide was a gainer; and in this manner did the Spartans maintain themſelves and their allies, without any conſiderable increaſe or diminution of their power. In this general ſhock, the Athenians ſeemed for a while to recover their former ſpirit; being aſſiſted by Perſian money, and conducted by Conon, an excellent general,

they took the field with ardour, and even rebuilt the walls of their city. From the mutual jealousies of these petty states among each other, all were weakened, and the Persian monarch became arbitrator of Greece. In this manner, after a fluctuation of successes and intrigues, all parties began to grow tired of a war, and a peace ensued: this peace was concluded in the second year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad; and from the many stipulations in favour of Persia, Plutarch terms it, The reproach and ruin of Greece.

The Spartans, thus freed from the terrors of a powerful foreign enemy, went on to spread terror among the petty states of Greece: they gave peremptory orders to the Mantineans to throw down their walls, and compelled them to obedience. They obliged the Corinthians to withdraw the garrison from Argos; and some other states they treated with an air of superiority, that plainly marked that they expected obedience. They marched against the Olynthians, who had lately grown into power, and effectually subdued them. They interposed also in a domestic quarrel which was carried on at Thebes. Phæbidas having seized upon the citadel, they turned him out, and placed a garrison of their own in that fortress. They then procured articles to be exhibited against Ismenias his antagonist, for having taken money of the

the Perſians, and for holding intelligence with them; and alſo for having been a principal promoter of their inteſtine broils: upon which he underwent a formal trial before the commiſſioners deputed from Sparta, and one from each of the other great cities of Greece, and was condemned to death. Thus, having ſecured Thebes, and having by a tedious war humbled the Olynthians, they went on to chaſtiſe the Phliaſians, for having abuſed ſome exiles that had been reſtored by the orders of Sparta. In this manner they continued diſtributing their orders with pride and ſeverity; no ſtate of Greece was able to oppoſe their authority; and, under the colour of executing juſtice, they were hourly paving the way to ſupreme command. In the midſt of this ſecurity, they were alarmed from a quarter where they leaſt expected to find oppoſition. The Thebans had, for four years ſince the ſeizing of their citadel, ſubmitted to the Spartan yoke; but they now took occaſion, by a very deſperate attempt, to throw it off: for which purpoſe, there was a ſecret correſpondence carried on between the moſt conſiderable of the Theban exiles at Athens, and thoſe who were well affected to them in Thebes; and meaſures were conducted between them by Phyllidas, ſecretary to the Theban governors, by whoſe contrivance a competent number of the exiles were to get into the

the city; and Charon, a man of the firſt rank there, offered his houſe for their reception. The day being fixed, they ſet out from Athens; and twelve of the moſt active and reſolute among them were detached to enter the city, the reſt remaining at a proper diſtance, to wait the event. The firſt who offered himſelf was Pelopidas, who was young and daring, and had been very zealous in encouraging the deſign; and, by the ſhare he had in it, gave a ſufficient earneſt of what might be further expected from him in the ſervice of his country. The next man of conſequence was Mellon, who, by ſome, is ſaid to have firſt projected the ſcheme with Phyllidas. Theſe two, with their ten aſſociates, dreſſed themſelves like peaſants, and beat about the fields with dogs and hunting-poles, as in ſearch of game. Having thus paſſed unſuſpected, and conveyed themſelves into the city, they met at Charon's houſe, as the general rendezvous, where they were ſoon after joined by thirty-ſix more of their confederates. It was concerted, that Phyllidas ſhould, on that day, give a great entertainment to Archias and Philip, the two governors who were appointed by the Spartans; and, to make it the more complete, he had engaged to provide ſome of the fineſt women in the town to give them a meeting. Matters being thus prepared, the aſſociates divided themſelves into

two bands; one of which, led by Charon and Mellon, were to attack Archias and his company; and having put on women's clothes over their armour, with pine and poplar over their heads, to ſhade their faces, they took their opportunity, when the gueſts were well heated with wine, to enter the room, and immediately ſtabbed Archias and Philip, with ſuch others of the company as were pointed out to them by Phyllidas. A little before this execution, Archias received an expreſs from Athens, with all the particulars of the conſpiracy; and the courier conjured him, in the name of the perſon who wrote the letters, that he ſhould read them forthwith, for that they contained matter of great importance. But he laid them by unopened; and, with a ſmile, ſaid, "Buſineſs to-morrow:" which words, upon that occaſion, grew into a proverb. The other band, headed by Pelopidas and Damoclides, went to attack Leontidas, who was at home, and in bed. They ruſhed into his houſe by ſurprize; but he, ſoon taking the alarm, leaped up, and, with his ſword in his hand, received them at his chamber-door, and ſtabbed Cephiſodorus, who was the firſt man that attempted to enter. Pelopidas was the next who encountered him; and, after a long and difficult diſpute, killed him. From hence they went in purſuit of Hypates, his friend and neighbour, and

dispatched him likewise: after which they joined the other band, and sent to hasten the exiles they had left in Attica.

The whole city was by this time filled with terror and confusion; the houses full of lights, and the inhabitants running to and fro in the streets, in a wild, distracted manner, and waiting impatiently for day-light, that they might distinguish their friends from their foes, seemed undetermined what course to take. Early in the morning, the exiles came in armed; and Pelopidas appeared with his party, in a general assembly of the people, encompassed by the priests, carrying garlands in their hands, proclaiming liberty to the Thebans in general, and exhorting them to fight for their gods and their country; for though they had made such a prosperous beginning, the most difficult part still remained, whilst the citadel was in the possession of the Spartans, with a garrison of fiteen hundred men, besides a great number of citizens and others, who had fled to them for protection, and declared themselves on their side.

Early the next morning, the Athenians sent five thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to the assistance of Pelopidas: several other bodies of troops also came in from all the cities of Bœotia; so that the citadel being hemmed round, and de-

spairing

ſpairing of ſuccours from without, ſurrendered at diſcretion.

The Thebans having thus acquired their freedom, the Spartans were reſolved, at any rate, to take the lead in the affairs of Greece; and having incenſed the ſtates beyond meaſure, attempted to ſeize upon the Pyræus, and thus made the Athenians their irreconcileable enemies. Ageſilaus was pitched upon to command the army that was to humble the Grecian ſtates. His name ſtruck a terror into the Thebans; and his forces, which amounted to near twenty thouſand men, increaſed their fears. The Thebans, therefore, inſtead of attempting to attack, were contented to ſtand upon their defence, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a hill near the city. Ageſilaus detached a party of light armed men, to provoke them to come down and give him battle; which they declining, he drew out his whole forces, in order to attack them. Chabrias, who commanded the mercenaries on the part of the Thebans, ordered his men to preſent themſelves, and keep their ranks in cloſe order, with their ſhields laid down at their feet, their ſpears advanced, one leg put forward, and the knee upon the half-bend. Ageſilaus finding them prepared in this manner to receive him, and that they ſtood as it were in defiance of him, thought fit to withdraw his army, and contented himſelf

with

with ravaging the country. This was looked upon as an extraordinary ſtratagem; and Chabrias valued himſelf ſo much upon it, that he procured his ſtatue to be erected in that poſture.

Thus, through a ſucceſſion of engagements, both by ſea and land, the Spartans, having provoked a powerful confederacy, grew every day weaker, and their enemies more daring. The Thebans continually grew bolder; and, inſtead of continuing to defend themſelves with difficulty, attacked the enemy with courage and ſucceſs. Though the battles fought between theſe ſtates, were neither regular nor deciſive, yet they were ſuch as ſerved to raiſe the courage of the Thebans, to gain them confidence, and to form them for thoſe great undertakings which were ſhortly to follow. Pelopidas, who headed them at the battle of Tanagra, ſlew the Spartan commander with his own hand. At the battle of Tegyra, with very unequal forces, he put a large body of the enemy to flight.

As it was this battle in which Pelopidas firſt diſplayed the ſuperiority of his military talents, and as it was it, alſo, that firſt convinced the Grecian ſtates, that true martial ſpirit may riſe and flouriſh in other regions, beſides thoſe that lie on the banks of the Eurotas, it cannot but be deemed a very intereſting and important one. Pelopidas had come to a reſolution of attacking Orchomenus, which was garri-

ſoned by the Spartans; he therefore marched againſt it with an army conſiſting of three hundred foot, and forty horſe; but, upon hearing that a large body of Spartans were haſtening to its relief, he thought it prudent to retire. In his retreat, he fell in with this reinforcement, near Tegyra, and finding a battle inevitable, he propoſed to engage them. He ordered his horſe to begin the attack. His foot, which he had ranged in a maſterly manner, he led up with all poſſible ſpeed to ſupport the horſe. The action now became general, and was ſupported with animoſity and vigour on both ſides. Gorgoleon, however, and Theopompus, who commanded the Spartans, falling early in the engagement, thoſe who fought near to them were either ſlain or put to flight; and that ſtruck ſuch a terror into the minds of the reſt of their troops, that they retired immediately to either ſide, opening a paſſage for the Thebans to proſecute their march. But a ſafe retreat was not the ſole object of Pelopidas's wiſhes. The recent ſucceſs of his army ſtimulated him to attempt ſomething of higher moment. He, therefore, drew up his men afreſh, renewed the battle, and, after much ſlaughter of the enemy, thoroughly routed and diſperſed them. The Thebans thus gained more reputation and advantage from their retreat, than they could have gained by the moſt complete ſucceſs in their original

nal defign of attacking Orchomenus. This defeat was the moft fignal difgrace with which the Spartans had ever met. Hitherto, they had never known what it was to yield even to an equal army: at Tegyra they were vanquifhed by a force not one third of their own. It muft, however, be acknowledged, that thefe three hundred foot were the flower and pride of the Theban army. They were diftinguifhed by the name of *The Sacred Battalion*. They were as remarkable for their fidelity to each other, as for their ftrength and courage: they were linked by the bonds of common friendfhip, and were fworn to ftand by each other in the moft dangerous extremities. Thus united, they became invincible, and generally turned the fcale of victory in their favour, for a fucceffion of years; until they were at laft cut down, as one man, by the Macedonian phalanx under Philip.

A peace of fhort continuance followed thefe fucceffes of the Thebans; but they foon fell into tumults and feditions again. The inhabitants of Zacinthus and Corcyra having expelled their magiftrates, put themfelves under the protection of Athens, and repulfed the Spartans, who attempted to reftore their magiftrates by force.

About the fame time, the inhabitants of Platæa, applying to their old friends the Athenians, for their protection and alliance, the Thebans took offence

offence at it, and demoliſhed the town; and ſoon after, did the ſame by Theſpiæ. The Athenians were ſo highly incenſed at the treatment of thoſe two cities, which had deſerved ſo well of the common cauſe in the Perſian war, that they would act no longer in conjunction with the Thebans; and, upon their breaking with them, the affairs of Greece took a new and unexpected turn.

It now began to appear, that the Thebans were growing into power; and, while Sparta and Athens were weakening each other by mutual conteſts, this ſtate, which had enjoyed all the emoluments, without any of the expences of the war, was every day growing more vigorous and independent. The Thebans, who now began to take the lead in the affairs of Greece, were naturally a hardy and robuſt people, of ſlow intellects, and ſtrong conſtitutions. It was a conſtant maxim with them, to ſide either with Athens or Sparta, in their mutual conteſts; and which ſoever they inclined to, they were generally of weight enough to turn the balance. However, they had hitherto made no further uſe of that weight, than to ſecure themſelves; but the ſpirit which now appeared among them, was firſt implanted by Pelopidas, their deliverer from the Spartan yoke; but ſtill further carried to its utmoſt height by Epaminondas, who now began to figure in the affairs of Greece.

Epami-

Epaminondas was one of those few exalted characters, who have scarce any vice, and almost every virtue, to distinguish them from the rest of mankind. Though in the beginning possessed of every quality necessary for the service of the state, he chose to lead a private life, employed in the study of philosophy, and shewing an example of the most rigid observance of all its doctrines.

Truly a philosopher, and poor out of taste, he despised riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and, if Justin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him; and he behaved himself, when invested with them, in such a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities did to him.

Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great necessity, Epaminondas sent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for a thousand crowns in his name: that rich man coming to his house, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon such an errand, "Why, replied Epaminondas, it is because this honest man is in want, and you are rich." Fond of leisure,

which

which he devoted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, he ſhunned public employments, and made no intereſt but to be excluded from them. His moderation concealed him ſo well, that he lived obſcure, and almoſt unknown. His merit, however, diſcovered him at laſt. He was taken from his ſolitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonſtrated, that philoſophy, though generally held in contempt with thoſe who aſpire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully uſeful in forming heroes; for it was, in his opinion, a great advance towards conquering an enemy, to know how to conquer one's ſelf. In the ſchools of philoſophy anciently were taught the great maxims of true policy; the rules of every kind of duty; the motives for a true diſcharge of them; what we owe to our country; the right uſe of authority; wherein true courage conſiſts: in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, ſtateſman, and great captain; and in all theſe Epaminondas excelled.

He poſſeſſed all the ornaments of the mind. He had the talent of ſpeaking in perfection; and was well verſed in the moſt ſublime ſciences. But a modeſt reſerve threw a veil over all thoſe excellent qualities, which ſtill augmented their value, and of which he knew not what it was to be oſtentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, ſaid,

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That he never had met with a man who knew more, and ſpoke leſs.

Such was the general appointed to command the Theban army, and act in conjunction with Pelopidas, with whom he had the moſt perfect and the moſt diſintereſted friendſhip. This ſtate being left out in the general treaty of peace, and thus having the Spartans and Athenians confederated againſt it, they appeared under the utmoſt conſternation, and all Greece looked upon them as loſt and undone. The Spartans ordered levies to be made in all parts of Greece that ſided with them; and Cleombrotus, their general, marched towards the frontiers of Bœotia, ſecure of victory: willing, however, to give his hoſtilities an air of juſtice, he ſent to demand of the Thebans, that they ſhould reſtore the cities that they had uſurped, to their liberties; that they ſhould rebuild thoſe they had demoliſhed before, and make reſtitution for all their former wrongs. To this it was replied, "That the Thebans were accountable to none but heaven for their conduct." Nothing now remained on both ſides, but to prepare for action. Epaminondas immediately raiſed all the troops he could, and began his march: his army did not amount to ſix thouſand men; and the enemy had above four times that number. As ſeveral bad omens were urged to prevent his ſetting out, he replied

replied only by a verſe from Homer, of which the ſenſe is, There is but one good omen, to fight for one's country. However, to reaſſure the ſoldiers, by nature ſuperſtitious, and whom he obſerved to be diſcouraged, he inſtructed ſeveral perſons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the ſpirit and hopes of his troops.

Epaminondas had wiſely taken care to ſecure a paſs, which would have ſhortened Cleombrutus's march conſiderably. The latter, after having taken a large compaſs, arrived at Leuctra, a ſmall town of Bœotia, between Platæa and Theſpiæ. Both parties conſulted whether they ſhould give battle; which Cleombrutus reſolved to do, ~~by the~~ advice of his officers; who repreſented to him, that if he declined fighting with ſuch a ſuperiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he ſecretly favoured the Thebans. The former had an eſſential reaſon for haſtening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected: however, the ſix generals who formed the council of war, differing in their ſentiments, the ſeventh, who was Pelopidas, came in very good time to join the three that were for fighting; and his opinion carrying the queſtion, the battle was reſolved upon.

The two armies were very unequal in number: that of the Lacedæmonians, as has been ſaid, conſiſted of twenty-four thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe; the Thebans had only ſix thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe; but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience in war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, compoſed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill diſciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as ſuperior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been ſaid, having engaged in the war with reluctance, becauſe they did not approve the motive of it, and being beſides diſſatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals of either ſide, ſupplied the place of numerous armies, eſpecially of the Theban, who was the moſt accompliſhed ſoldier of his times. He was ſupported by Pelopidas, with whom he had formerly fought and bled, and who was then at the head of the Sacred Battalion, compoſed of three hundred Thebans, united in a ſtrict friendſhip and affection, and engaged, under a particular oath, never to fly, but to defend each other to the laſt.

Upon the day of battle, the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, at

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the head of a body confifting of Lacedæmonians, in whom he confided moft, and whofe files were twelve feet deep: to take the advantage which his fuperiority of horfe gave him in an open country, he pofted them in front of his Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, the fon of Agefilaus, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who refolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in perfon, ftrengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep: the Sacred Battalion was upon his left, and clofed the wing; the reft of his infantry were pofted upon his right, in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more diftant from the enemy. By this uncommon difpofition, his defign was to cover his flank on the right; to keep off his right wing, as a kind of referved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakeft part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his beft troops were pofted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was affured that, if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, the reft of the army would foon be put to the rout. As for his horfe, he difpofed them, after the enemy's example, in the front of his left.

The action began with the cavalry. As the Thebans were better mounted, and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horſe, the latter were not long before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into ſome confuſion. Epaminondas, following his horſe cloſe, marched ſwiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diverſion, detached a body of troops, with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to ſurround him. Pelopidas, upon ſight of that movement, advanced with incredible ſpeed and boldneſs, at the head of the Sacred Battalion, to prevent the enemy's deſign, and flanked Cleombrotus himſelf: who, by that ſudden and unexpected attack, was put into diſorder. The battle was very fierce and obſtinate; and, whilſt Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in ſuſpenſe, and declared for neither party. But when he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the ſhame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great ſlaughter enſued on both ſides. The Spartans fought with ſo much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off Animated by ſo glorious an advantage, they propoſed to return to the charge, which would, perhaps,

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have proved ſucceſsful, had the allies ſeconded their ardour: but the left wing, ſeeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx broken, and believing all loſt, eſpecially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the reſt of the army. Epaminondas followed them vigorouſly, and killed a great number in the purſuit. The Thebans remained maſters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received ſuch a blow. The moſt bloody defeat, till then, had ſcarce ever coſt them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. Here they loſt four thouſand men, of whom one thouſand were Lacedæmonians, and four hundred Spartans, out of ſeven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were four of their citizens.

The city of Sparta was at that time celebrating the Gymnaſtic games, and was full of ſtrangers, whom curioſity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat, the Ephori, though perfectly ſenſible of all the conſequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the repreſentations of the theatre to be ſuſpended, nor any changes in the celebration

of the festival. They sent to every family the names of their relations who were killed, and staid in the theatre, to see that the dances and games were continued, without interruption, to the end. It is not easy to determine, whether we ought to ascribe this supine, and unprecedented conduct of the Ephori, to their desire of concealing from the people the desperate state in which their affairs then were; or to that luxury and dissipation which had begun to corrupt even Sparta itself.

The next day, in the morning, the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had died in the battle, met in the public place, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks, whilst the others kept themselves close in their houses; or, if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection of aspect, which sensibly expressed their anguish and affliction. That difference was still more remarkable in the women: grief, silence, tears distinguished those who expected the return of their sons; but such as had lost their sons, were seen hurrying to the temple, to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune.

One great point under immediate consideration, was concerning those who had fled out of the battle. They were, by the law, in that case, to be

degraded

degraded from all honour, and rendered infamous; insomuch, that it was a disgrace to intermarry with them: they were to appear publicly in mean and dirty habits, with patched and party-coloured garments, and to go half shaved; and whoever met them in the streets, might insult and beat them, and they were not to make any resistance. This was so severe a law, and such numbers had incurred the penalties of it, many of whom were of great families and interest, that they apprehended the execution of it might occasion some public commotions; besides, that these citizens, such as they were, could very ill be spared at this time, when they wanted to recruit the army. Under this difficulty, they gave Agesilaus a power even over the laws, to dispense with them, to abrogate them, or to enact such new ones as the present exigency required. He would not abolish or make any variation in the law itself; but made a public declaration, That it should lie dormant for that single day, but revive and be in full force again on the morrow; and, by that expedient, he saved the citizens from infamy.

So great a victory was followed by instantaneous effects: numbers of the Grecian states, that had hitherto remained neuter, now declared in favour of the conquerors, and increased their army to the amount of seventy thousand men. Epaminondas

entered Laconia with an army, the twelfth part of which were not Thebans; and finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, he ran through it with fire and ſword, deſtroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas.

This river was, at that time, very much ſwoln by the melting of the ſnow; and the Thebans found more difficulty in paſſing it than they expected, as well from the rapidity as the extreme coldneſs of the water. As Epaminondas was paſſing at the head of his infantry, ſome of the Spartans ſhewed him to Ageſilaus, who, after having attentively conſidered and followed him with his eyes a long time, could not help crying out, in admiration of his valour, *Oh! the wonder-working man!* The Theban general, however, contented himſelf with over-running the country, without attempting any thing upon Sparta, and, entering Arcadia, reinſtated it in all its former privileges and liberties. The Lacedæmonians had, ſome time before, ſtripped the harmleſs natives of all their poſſeſſions, and obliged them to take refuge among ſtrangers. Their country was equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the beſt in Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were diſperſed in different regions of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, on the firſt notice given them, returned with incredible joy, animated by the love of their country, natural to all men; and almoſt

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as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which length of time had only increased. They built themselves a city, which, from the ancient name, was called Messene.

After performing such signal exploits, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, the Theban generals, once more returned home, not to share the triumph and acclamations of their fellow-citizens, but to answer the accusations that were laid against them: they were now both summoned as criminals against the state, for having retained their posts four months beyond the time limited by law. This offence was capital by the laws of Thebes; and those who stood up for the constitution, were very earnest in having it observed with punctuality. Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal: he defended himself with less force and greatness of mind, than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, which was haughty and intrepid in fight, forsook him before his judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and low in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him, not without difficulty. Epaminondas, on the contrary, appeared with all the confidence of conscious innocence: instead of justifying himself, he enumerated his actions; he repeated, in haughty terms,

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in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-eſtabliſhed Meſſenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with ſaying, That he ſhould die with pleaſure, if the Thebans would renounce the ſole glory of thoſe actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he uſed to return from battle, with glory and univerſal applauſe. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner ſeizes the admiration of mankind by force. This manner of reproaching them had ſo good an effect, that his enemies declined any further proſecution; and he, with his colleague, were honourably acquitted. His enemies, however, jealous of his glory, with a deſign to affront him, cauſed him to be elected the city ſcavanger; he accepted the place with thanks, and declared, That inſtead of deriving honour from his office, he would give it dignity in his turn.

In the mean time, the Spartans, ſtruck with conſternation at their late defeats, applied to the Athenians for ſuccour; who, after ſome heſitation, determined to aſſiſt them with all their forces; and a ſlight advantage the Spartans had gained over the Arcadians, in which they did not loſe a man, gave a promiſing dawn of ſucceſs. The Perſian king was alſo applied to for aſſiſtance in the con-

federacy

federacy against Thebes; but Pelopidas, undertaking an embassy to that court, frustrated their purpose, and induced that great monarch to stand neuter.

Thebes being thus rid of so powerful an enemy, had less fears of withstanding the confederacy of Sparta and Athens: but a new and an unexpected power was now growing up against them; a power which was one day about to swallow up the liberties of Greece, and give laws to all mankind.

Some years before this, Jason, the king of Pheræ, was chosen general of the Thessalians, by the consent of the people; he was at the head of an army of eight thousand horse, and twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning light infantry; and might have undertaken any thing with such a body of well-disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their commander. Death prevented his designs; he was assassinated by persons who had long before conspired his destruction. His two brothers, Polydorus and Poliphron, were substituted in his place. Against him Pelopidas was sent. The latter of whom killed the other, for the sake of reigning alone; and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ, who seized the government, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. The Theban

general

general ſoon compelled Alexander to make ſubmiſſion to him; and attempted, by mild uſage, to change the natural brutality of his diſpoſition. But Alexander, long addicted to a debauched life, and poſſeſſed of inſatiable avarice, ſecretly withdrew from all conſtraint, reſolved to ſeize an opportunity of revenge. It was not till ſome time after that this opportunity offered: for Pelopidas being appointed ambaſſador to Alexander, who was at that time at the head of a powerful army, he was ſeized upon, and made priſoner, contrary to all the laws of nations and humanity. It was in vain that the Thebans complained of this infraction of laws; it was in vain that they ſent a powerful army, but headed by indifferent generals, to revenge the inſult: their army returned without effect, and Alexander treated his priſoners with the utmoſt ſeverity. It was left for Epaminondas to bring the tyrant to reaſon. Entering Theſſalia at the head of a powerful army, his name ſpread ſuch terror, that the tyrant offered terms of ſubmiſſion, and delivered up Pelopidas from priſon.

Pelopidas was ſcarce freed from confinement, when he reſolved to puniſh the tyrant for his perfidy and breach of faith. He led a body of troops againſt Alexander, to a place called Cynocephalus, where a bloody battle enſued, in which the Thebans were victorious; but Pelopidas was un-

fortunately

fortunately slain: his countrymen considered those successes very dearly earned, which they had obtained at the expence of his life. The lamentations for him were general; his funeral was magnificent, and his praises boundless. Alexander himself soon after was killed by Theba his wife, and his three brothers, who, long shocked at his cruelties, had resolved to rid the world of such a monster. The account has it, that he slept every night, guarded by a dog, in a chamber which was ascended by a ladder. Theba allured away the dog, and covered the steps of the ladder with wool, to prevent noise, and then, with the assistance of her brothers, stabbed him in several parts of his body.

In the mean time, the war between the Thebans and the Spartans was carried on with unabated vigour. The Theban troops were headed by their favourite general Epaminondas; those of Sparta by Agesilaus, the only man in Greece that was then able to oppose him.

The first attempt of Epaminondas in this campaign, marked his great abilities, and his skill in the art of war. Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march to Mantinea, and had left but few citizens to defend Sparta at home, he marched directly thither by night, with a design to take the city by surprize, as it had neither walls

nor

nor troops to defend it; but luckily Ageſilaus was apprized of his deſign, and diſpatched one of his horſe to adviſe the city of its danger; ſoon after arriving with a powerful ſuccour in perſon, he had ſcarce entered the town, when the Thebans were ſeen paſſing the Eurotas, and coming on againſt the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his deſign was diſcovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without ſome attempt. He therefore made his troops advance, and making uſe of valour inſtead of ſtratagem, he attacked the city at ſeveral quarters, penetrated as far as the public place, and ſeized that part of Sparta which lay upon the hither ſide of the river. Ageſilaus made head every where, and defended himſelf with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He ſaw well that it was not now a time, as before, to ſpare himſelf, and to act only upon the defenſive; but that he had need of all his courage and intrepidity, and to fight with all the vigour of deſpair. His ſon Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greateſt; and, with his ſmall troop, ſtopped the enemy, and made head againſt them on all ſides.

A young Spartan, named Iſadas, diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly in this action. He was very handſome in the face, perfectly well ſhaped, of an advantageous

advantageous ſtature, and in the flower of his youth; he had neither armour nor clothes upon his body, which ſhone with oil; he held a ſpear in one hand, and a ſword in the other. In this condition he quitted his houſe, with the utmoſt eagerneſs; and, breaking thro' the preſs of the Spartans that fought, he threw himſelf upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who oppoſed him, without receiving any hurt himſelf. Whether the enemy were diſmayed at ſo aſtoniſhing a ſight, or whether, ſays Plutarch, the gods took pleaſure in preſerving him upon account of his extraordinary valour, remains a queſtion. It is ſaid, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle, in honour of his exploits; but afterwards fined him a thouſand drachmas, for having expoſed himſelf to ſo great a danger without arms.

Epaminondas, thus failing in his deſign, was reſolved, before he laid down his command, which was near expiring, to endeavour to effect ſomething that might compenſate for his failure. In order to protect Sparta, Ageſilaus had withdrawn all the troops from Mantinea: thither, therefore, Epaminondas reſolved to bend his courſe. Being determined to attack the town, he diſpatched a troop of horſe to view its ſituation, and to clear the fields of ſtragglers. But juſt before they had

reached Mantinea, an army of ſix thouſand Athenian auxiliaries arrived by ſea; who, without taking any refreſhment either to their men or horſes, ruſhed out without the city, and attacked and defeated the Theban horſe. In the mean time, Epaminondas was advancing with his whole army, with the enemy cloſe upon his rear. Finding it impoſſible to accompliſh his purpoſe, before he was overtaken, he determined to halt and give them battle. He had now got within a ſhort way of the town, which has had the honour of giving its name to the conflict of that day; a conflict the moſt ſplendid, and beſt conteſted, that ever figured in the hiſtory of any country.

The Greeks had never fought among themſelves with more numerous armies; the Lacedæmonians conſiſted of more than twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; the Thebans of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians were poſted in one line; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakeſt of their troops, had the centre; and the Athenians alone compoſed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the centre: the cavalry on each ſide were diſpoſed in the wings.

The

The Theban general marched in the same order of battle in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose, in disposing of his army, a precious time which cannot be recovered.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills, with his left wing foremost, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over against them, at a quarter of a league's distance, he made the troops halt, and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy, in effect, were deceived by his stand; and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to be extinguished, which a near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of soldiers.

Epaminondas, however, by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had, in his march, posted in front, made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very slow, and to halt

before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops of which he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops which he commanded in person, and which he had formed into a column to attack the enemy in a wedge-like point. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of the army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon a rising ground, in readiness to flank the Athenians, as well as to cover his right, and to alarm them, and give them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprized when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

Whilst Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thessalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bow-men, slingers, and dart-men, in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorders of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins upon them. The other army had neglected to take the same precaution; and had been guilty of another fault, not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the squadrons as if they had been a phalanx. By this means their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made several ineffectual attacks with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time, Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both sides with incredible ardour, both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being resolved to perish, rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began with fighting their spears; but these being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter very great on both sides.

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The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks, than to lose a step of their ground.

The furious slaughter on both sides having continued a great while, without the victory inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed, therefore, a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him; and, putting himself at the head of them, made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the first javelin he threw. This troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all that stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, dismayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground. The gross of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and success, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made great slaughter of them. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardour, suddenly rallied, and, returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins.

Whilst

Whilſt he kept off part of thoſe darts, ſhunned ſome of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the moſt heroic valour, to aſſure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in his breaſt, acroſs his cuiraſs. The wood of the javelin being broke off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was inſupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury; the one ſide uſing their utmoſt endeavours to take him alive, and the other to ſave him. The Thebans gained their point at laſt, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight.

After ſeveral different movements, and alternate loſſes and diſadvantages, the troops on both ſides ſtood ſtill, and reſted upon their arms; and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by conſent, ſounded the retreat at the ſame time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, becauſe they had defeated the right wing, and remained maſters of the field of battle; the Athenians, becauſe they had cut the general's detachment in pieces: and, from this point of honour, both ſides at firſt refuſed to aſk leave to bury their dead; which, with the ancients, was confeſſing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians, however, ſent firſt to demand that permiſſion; after which,

the reſt had no thoughts but of paying the laſt duties to the ſlain.

In the mean time, Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The ſurgeons, after having examined the wound, declared, that he would expire as ſoon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Thoſe words gave all that were preſent the utmoſt ſorrow and affliction, who were inconſolable on ſeeing ſo great a man upon the point of expiring. For him, the only concern he expreſſed was about his arms, and the fate of the battle. When they ſhewed him his ſhield, and aſſured him that the Thebans had gained the victory, turning towards his friends with a calm and ſerene air, "All then is well, ſaid he;" and ſoon after, upon drawing the head of the javelin out of his body, he expired in the arms of victory.

As the glory of Thebes roſe with Epaminondas, ſo it fell with him; and he is, perhaps, the only inſtance of one man's being able to inſpire his country with military glory, and lead it to conqueſt, without having had a predeceſſor, or leaving an imitator of his example.

The battle of Mantinea was the greateſt that ever was fought by Grecians againſt Grecians; the whole ſtrength of the country being drawn out, and ranged according to their different intereſts; and it was fought with an obſtinacy equal to the importance

tance of it, which was the fixing the empire of Greece. And this muſt of courſe have been tranſferred to the Thebans upon their victory, if they had not loſt the fruits of it by the death of their general, who was the ſoul of all their counſels and deſigns. This blaſted all their hopes, and put out their ſudden blaze of power, almoſt as ſoon as it was kindled. However, they did not preſently give up their pretenſions; they were ſtill ranked among the leading ſtates, and made ſeveral further ſtruggles; but they were faint and ineffectual, and ſuch as were rather for life and being, than for ſuperiority and dominion. A peace, therefore, was propoſed; which was ratified by all the ſtates of Greece, except Sparta: the conditions of which were, that every ſtate ſhould maintain what they poſſeſſed, and hold it independent of any other power.

A ſtate of repoſe followed this peace, in which the Grecian powers ſeemed to ſlacken from their former animoſities; and if we except an expedition under Ageſilaus into Egypt, whither he went to aſſiſt Tachos, who had uſurped that kingdom, there was little done for ſeveral years following.

It will be proper to give a ſhort account of that expedition. Tachos having uſurped the ſupreme power in Egypt, applied to Ageſilaus for aid againſt the Perſian king, with whom he was at war. Ageſilaus,

ſilaus, through avarice, and the hope of being preferred to the chief command, readily complied; aſſuring the Spartans, that nothing but the intereſt of his country could have induced him to go into the ſervice of a foreign prince. Being arrived in Egypt, all were anxious to ſee a man who had acquired ſo ſplendid a reputation. Accordingly, great multitudes of every denomination flocked to the place where he was: but how much were they aſtoniſhed, when, inſtead of an elegant, portly figure, they found a little old man, of mean appearance, lying on the graſs, with his clothes thread-bare, and his hair uncombed! They were ſtill more ſtruck upon their offering him preſents of perfumes, and other Egyptian luxuries: "Give theſe things, he ſaid, to my helots; Spartan freemen know not how to uſe them." He was far from meeting with that ſort of treatment from Tachos, which he had reaſon to expect. Inſtead of making him commander in chief, that prince would allow him no command but that of the mercenaries. Ageſilaus, of courſe, became diſaffected to Tachos, and joined with Nectanebus his nephew, who had commenced hoſtilities againſt him. Tachos was ſoon driven out of the kingdom. Nectanebus did not, however, enjoy a long tranquillity: for he had hardly been proclaimed king, when another competitor ſtarting up, Egypt was again

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in arms. Nectanenus and Agesilaus were obliged to fortify themselves with their troops. The conduct of Agesilaus, during the siege, is much extolled. By his advice, a successful sally was made, and Nectanebus peaceably seated on the throne. In return for his great services, the Spartan king was presented with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, and treated with every mark of gratitude and respect. In returning home, the ensuing winter, he was driven into the haven of Menelaus, which lies upon a desert spot of Africa, where he was attacked with an acute disease, and carried off; being upwards of eighty years of age, forty of which he had been king.

The character of Agesilaus was compounded of a variety of very opposite qualities. Against his pretensions to the regal power there were very strong prejudices, both with regard to his person, and his interest in the state. The first he conquered by his good humour; the second by the assistance of his friend Lysander. He was so fully convinced of the meanness of his appearance, that he never would allow any statue of him to be erected during his life-time; and he entreated the Spartans that they would erect none after his death. He always paid the utmost deference and respect to the Senate and to the Ephori: the consequence of which was, that he was enabled to carry all his

designs,

designs, by fresh acquisitions to the prerogative. He was remarkable for his abstinence and continency; adhering rigidly to the antient Spartan mode of plainness and frugality. He was capable of enduring immense fatigue and pain. His uncommon affection for his children, made a strong feature in his character. A friend having found him riding with them on a hobby-horse, expressed some surprize; on which he said, "Don't say a word of it, till you become a father yourself." He was in a high degree humane and generous to his enemies; easily forgiving their offences or debts, and never taking the smallest advantage of their distress or necessities. But, on the other hand, he was by much too partial to his friends, in whom he seldom could discover any thing worthy of blame. His words to the prince of Caria are worthy of being remembered: "If Nicias be innocent, acquit him on account of his innocence; if guilty, acquit him on my account; at any event, let him be acquitted." It was the misfortune of his country, that the impetuosity and ambition of his youth degenerated, when he grew old, into obstinacy and perverseness. The effect of that change was, that he sometimes rendered his country unhappy, by engaging in enterprizes to which the senate had consented with reluctance. He had one peculiar method of deceiving his enemies.

When

When about to enter upon a march, he took care to publiſh the true account of his intended route, and time of marching; by which he generally had the pleaſure of hearing that they had moved on a different day, and had taken a different road from that which they wiſhed to take. So high was his fame for military prowefs, that the Spartans appointed him not only to be their general, but their admiral; a mark of honour never conferred on any other commander.

The Athenians, when they found themſelves delivered from him (Epaminondas) who kept up their emulation, grew indolent and remiſs, and abandoned themſelves to their eaſe and pleaſure, being wholly taken up with ſhews, ſports, and feſtivals. They were naturally too much addicted to theſe amuſements; and they had formerly been encouraged in them by Pericles, who knew how to lead them by their inclinations, and who took this method to ingratiate himſelf, and to divert them from inſpecting too narrowly into his adminiſtration. But they now carried their diverſions to a much higher pitch of extravagance. They had ſuch a paſſion for the ſtage, that it ſtifled in them all other thoughts either of buſineſs or of glory. In ſhort, the decorations, and other charges attending the theatre, were ſo exceſſive, that Plutarch

tarch says, "It cost more to represent some of the famous pieces of Sophocles and Euripides, than it had done to carry on the war against the barbarians." And, in order to support this charge, they seized upon the fund which had been set apart for the war, with a prohibition, upon pain of death, ever to advise the applying of it to any other purpose. They not only reversed this decree, but went as far the other way, making it death to propose the restoring the fund to the uses to which it had been before appropriated, under the same penalties. By diverting the course of the supplies in so extraordinary a manner, and entertaining the idle citizens at the expence of the soldier and mariner, they seemed to have no remains of that spirit and vigour which they had exerted in the Persian wars, when they demolished their houses to furnish out a navy; and when the women stoned a man to death, who proposed to appease the Great King (as he was called) by paying tribute and doing homage.

A. J. C. 358.

In this general remissness, it was not to be supposed, that their allies would treat them with the respect they demanded. Most of the states, that had hitherto been in alliance with them, and had found security under their protection, took up arms against them. In reducing

reducing these, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus, gained great reputation, and are supposed to have been consummate generals; but their successes are too minute to rank them among the class of eminent commanders; and, whatever their skill might have been, there was wanted a great occasion for its display. This war was opened with the siege of Chio, in which the Athenians were repulsed; and Chabrias, unwilling to abandon his vessel, preferred death to flight. The siege of Byzantium followed; before which, the fleet of the contending powers was dispersed by a storm: in consequence of which, the Athenian generals were recalled. Timotheus was fined a great sum; but, being too poor to pay, he went into voluntary banishment. Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself, but got off by his eloquence; and, in the mean time, the affairs of Athens succeeded but ill under the guidance of Charis, who was left sole commander. A peace was concluded; whereby every city and people were left to the full enjoyment of their liberty: and thus the war of the allies ended, after having continued three years.

During these transactions, a power was growing up in *Greece*, hitherto unobserved, but now too conspicuous and formidable to be overlooked in

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the general picture: this was that of the Macedonians; a people hitherto obscure, and in a manner barbarous; and who, though warlike and hardy, had never yet presumed to intermeddle in the affairs of Greece: but now several circumstances concurred to raise them from that obscurity, and to involve them in measures, which, by degrees, wrought a thorough change in the state of Greece. It will be necessary, therefore, to begin with a short account of their power and origin, before we enter into a detail of that conspicuous part, which they afterwards performed on the theatre of the world.

CHAP. XIII.

FROM THE BIRTH TO THE DEATH OF PHILIP KING OF MACEDON.

THE people of Macedon were hitherto considered as making no part of the Grecian confederacy; they were looked upon as foreigners, as men, in a measure, semi-barbarous; who boasted, indeed, of taking their origin from the Greeks, but who hitherto neither possessed their politeness, nor enjoyed their freedom; they had little or no inter-

intercourse with their mother-country; they had contracted the habits and manners of the natives where they were settled, and from thence they were treated with similar disrespect.

The first king who is mentioned with any degree of certainty to have reigned in Macedonia, was Caranus, by birth an Argive, and said to be the sixteenth in descent from Hercules. It was upon this foundation, that Philip afterwards grounded his pretensions to be of the race of Hercules, and assumed to himself divine honours. Caranus is commonly reputed to have led forth a body of his countrymen, by the advice of the oracle, into those parts where he settled, and made himself king. Caranus having, according to the general account, reigned twenty-eight years, the succession was continued after him to the times we are now treating of. But there is very little worth notice recorded of these kings, they being generally employed in defending themselves against the incursions of their neighbours. And as to their domestic affairs, they were remarkable only for the frequent murders and usurpations which happened in the royal family.

Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Having the very year after been warmly attacked by the Illyrians,

Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again, he had addressed himself to the Olynthians; and, in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a considerable track of land in the neighbourhood of their city. He was restored to the throne by the Thessalians; upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the ill situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks and the Athenians, in particular, sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and sudden ruin.

Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years; he left three legitimate children, namely, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. Alexander, the eldest son, reigned but one year. Perdiccas, the second brother, was opposed by Pausanias the Lacedæmonian, who began, by seizing some fortresses; but, by the assistance of Iphicrates, the Athenian general, the usurper was expelled, and Perdiccas the lawful sovereign confirmed on the throne. He did not, however, long continue in

tran-

tranquillity. Ptolemy, a natural ſon of Amyntas, laid claim to the crown, and diſputed his title; which, by mutual conſent, was referred to Pelopidas the Theban, a man much revered both for his probity and his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and, having judged it neceſſary to take pledges on both ſides, in order to oblige the two competitors to obſerve the articles of the treaty accepted by them, among other hoſtages, he carried Philip with him to Thebes, where he reſided ſeveral years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much-loved ſon, earneſtly beſought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hoſtage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philoſopher in his houſe for the education of his ſon. Philip improved greatly by the inſtructions of his preceptor, and much more by thoſe of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made ſome campaigns, though no mention is made of them. He could not poſſibly have had a more excellent maſter, whether for war, or the conduct of life; for this illuſtrious Theban was, at the ſame time that he was a warrior, a very great philoſopher; that is to ſay, a wiſe and virtuous man. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and propoſed him as a model to him-

ſelf; moſt happy, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occaſions; which, however, formed but a very inconſiderable part of the merit of that illuſtrious perſonage. But, with regard to his temperance, his juſtice, his diſintereſtedneſs, his ſincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, theſe were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the moſt dangerous enemy of Greece. After Philip had ſpent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him reſolve to leave Thebes clandeſtinely. Accordingly he ſtole away, made the utmoſt expedition, and found the Macedonians greatly diſtreſſed at having loſt their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians; but much more ſo, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a much greater force; the Peonians infeſted it with perpetual incurſions; the Thracians were determined to place Pauſanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretenſions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias, their general,

general, was ordered to support with a strong fleet, and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern; and had only a child, Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of Guardian to the Prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and instead of the heir, whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required to fill it; persuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. Accordingly, Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne, the first year of the 105th Olympiad.

Never did the present condition of the Macedonians require a man of more prudence and activity. They were surrounded with as many enemies as they had neighbours. The Illyrians, flushed with their late victory, were preparing to march against them with a great army. The Pæonians were making daily incursions upon them; and, at the same time, the title to the crown was contested by Pausanias and Argæus; the former whereof was supported by the Thracians, and the latter by the Athenians; who, for that purpose, had sent out a good fleet, and three thousand land-men.

Under these circumstances, with so many enemies on his hands at once, and that before he was settled on the throne, his first care was to make sure of his own people, to gain their affections, and to raise their spirits; for they were very much disheartened, having lost above four thousand men in the late action with the Illyrians. He succeeded in these points, by the artfulness of his address, and the force of his eloquence, of which he was a great master. His next step was to train and exercise them, and reform their discipline; and it was at this time that he instituted the famous Macedonian phalanx, which did so much execution. It was an improvement upon the ancient manner of fighting among the Grecians, who generally drew up their foot so close, as to stand the shock of the enemy without being broken. The complete phalanx was thought to contain above sixteen thousand men; though it was also taken in general for any company or party of soldiers, and frequently for the whole body of foot. But this of Philip's invention is described by Polybius to be an oblong figure, consisting of eight thousand pike-men, sixteen deep, and five hundred in front; the men standing so close together, that the pikes of the fifth rank were extended three feet beyond the line of the front. The rest, whose distance from the front made their pikes useless, rested them

upon

upon the ſhoulders of thoſe who ſtood before them, and ſo locking them together in file, preſſed forward to ſupport and puſh on the former ranks, whereby the aſſault was rendered more violent and irreſiſtible.

When Philip had made ſome proper regulation of his affairs at home, he began to look abroad, in order to divert the ſtorms which threatened him from all quarters. By money and promiſes, he made up matters for the preſent with ſuch of his enemies as lay neareſt to him; and then turned his forces againſt the Athenians, who were marched up to Methone, to aſſiſt Argæus. He gave them battle, and defeated them; and the death of Argæus, who was killed in the action, put an end to that diſpute: for he permitted the Athenians, when they were in his power, to return home. This inſtance of his moderation, gained ſo far upon them, that they ſoon after concluded a peace with him; which yet he obſerved no longer than it ſerved his deſign of ſecuring the other part of his dominions.

Accordingly, he marched northward, where he declared war againſt the Pæonians, and ſubdued them; then fell upon the Illyrians, and having killed above ſeven thouſand of them in a pitched battle, obliged them to reſtore all their conqueſts in Macedonia. He had alſo obſtructed the paſſage of

of the Thasians; but yet did not think it sufficiently secured, without making himself master of Amphipolis, which was very commodiously situated on the river Strymon, and was the key of that side of his dominions. He knew the importance of it, therefore he possessed himself of it in the beginning of his reign. This was the ground of his quarrel with the Athenians; who claimed it as one of their colonies, and made such a point of it, that their setting up Argæus against him, was not so much for his own sake, or for the credit of imposing a king upon the Macedonians, as it was with a view to get the city restored to them by his means, in case he should have succeeded in his intentions. Philip was sensible of their drift, and finding it necessary at that time to keep up some sort of agreement with them, would neither keep the place himself, nor let them have it; but took a middle course, and declared it a free city; thereby leaving the inhabitants to throw off their dependence on their old masters, and making it appear to be their own act. But the city continued no longer in this state, than until he found himself at liberty to make a more thorough conquest of it; which at this time he easily effected, through the remissness of the Athenians, who refused to send any relief to it; alledging, in their excuse, that it would be a breach of the peace,

which

which they had concluded with Philip the year before. But the truth is, he tricked them out of it by a promiſe of delivering it up to them. But inſtead of keeping his word, he made further encroachments, by ſeizing on Pydna and Potidea; the latter of which being garriſoned by Athenians, he drew them out, and ſent them home; but diſmiſſed them with ſuch marks of civility, as ſhewed that he avoided coming to an open rupture with that ſtate, at leaſt until his deſigns were more ripe for it; though at the ſame time he did what he could to weaken them, and drive them out of his neighbourhood. Pydna, with the territory belonging to it, he gave up to the Olynthians, who were his father's inveterate enemies. His hands were too full at this time to revive the quarrel againſt ſo rich and powerful a city; which, for three years together, had withſtood the united forces of Sparta and Macedonia; he therefore choſe to buy their friendſhip for the preſent, and to amuſe them by the delivery of this town, as he had done the Athenians by the peace, until he could attack them with more advantage. In this ſtep alſo he over-reached the Athenians; who were at the ſame time courting the alliance of the Olynthians, in order to maintain their footing in thoſe parts. Which ſide ſoever the Olynthians inclined to, they were ſtrong enough to turn the balance;

balance; and therefore, the gaining them became a matter of great contention between Philip and the Athenians.

From thence he proceeded to seize the city of Crenides, which had been built two years before, and then called it Philippi, from his own name. It was here that he discovered a gold mine, which every year produced an hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling. This, which was an immense sum for that age, was much more serviceable than fleets or armies, in fighting his battles; and he seldom failed using it in every negociation. The Roman poets have sung its effects in the most beautiful strains. It is said, that consulting the oracle at Delphos, concerning the success of an intended expedition, he was answered by the priestess, "That with silver spears he should conquer all things." He took the advice of the oracle, and his success was answerable to its wisdom: indeed, he was less proud of the success of a battle, than of a negociation; well knowing, that his soldiers and generals shared in the one, but that the honour of the latter was wholly his own.

But a larger field was now opening to his ambition. The mutual divisions of the states of Greece were at no time wholly cemented, and they broke out now upon a very particular occasion. The first cause of the rupture (which was after-

wards

wards called the Sacred War) arofe from the Phocians having ploughed up a piece of ground belonging to the temple of Apollo at Delphos. Againft this all the neighbouring ftates exclaimed as a facrilege: they were cited before the council of the Amphictyons, who particularly took cognizance of facred matters; they were caft, and an heavy fine was impofed upon them. This the Phocians were unable to pay; they refufed to fubmit to the decree: they alledged, that the care and patronage of the temple anciently belonged to them; and, to vindicate this, they quoted a precedent from Homer.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, was principally inftrumental in encouraging them to arms: he raifed their ardour, and was appointed their general. He firft applied himfelf to the Spartans, who had likewife been fined by the Amphictyons, at the inftance of the Thebans, after the battle of Leuctra, for having feized the Cadmea: for this reafon they were very well difpofed to join with him, but did not yet think it proper to declare themfelves: however, they encouraged his defign, and fupplied him under-hand with money; by which means he raifed troops, and, without much difficulty, got poffeffion of the temple. The chief refiftance he met with in the neighbourhood, was from the Locrians; but hav-

ing worsted them, he erased the decree of the Amphictyons, which was inscribed on the pillars of the temple. However, to strengthen his authority, and give a colour to his proceedings, he thought it convenient to consult the oracle, and to procure an answer in his favour. But when he applied to the priestess for that purpose, she refused to officiate, until being intimidated by his threats, she told him, the god left him at liberty to act as he pleased; which he looked upon as a good answer, and as such took care to divulge it.

The Amphictyons meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocians. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocians. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed, than in the deity's defence; for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt: and being enabled, by this fresh supply, to double the pay of his soldiers,

ſoldiers, he raiſed a very conſiderable body of troops.

Several battles were fought; and the ſucceſs for ſome time ſeemed doubtful on both ſides. Every one knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded, and the prodigious lengths which a falſe zeal, when veiled with ſo venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken ſeveral priſoners, condemned them all to die, as ſacrilegious wretches who were excommunicated: the Phocians did the ſame, by way of repriſal. Theſe had at firſt gained ſeveral advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader being cloſely attacked on an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himſelf for a long time with invincible bravery; which however not availing, he threw himſelf headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he muſt undoubtedly have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Oenomarchus was his ſucceſſor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

Philip thought it moſt conſiſtent with his intereſt to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks. It was conſiſtent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard either for religion, or the intereſts of Apollo, and who was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a

war

war by which he could not reap the leaſt benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and puſh his conqueſts, without any apprehenſion of oppoſition. He was alſo well pleaſed to ſee both parties weaken and conſume each other, as he ſhould thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards to greater advantage.

Juſt on the concluſion of this war, was born *Alexander the Great.* His father Philip loſt no time in acquainting Ariſtotle of what had happened. He wrote to that diſtinguiſhed philoſopher, in terms the moſt polite and flattering: begging of him to come and undertake his education, and to beſtow on him thoſe uſeful leſſons of magnanimity and virtue, which every great man ought to poſſeſs, and which his numerous avocations rendered impoſſible to be attempted by him. He added, "I return thanks to the gods, not ſo much for having given me a ſon, as for having given him to me, in the age in which Ariſtotle lives."

Being deſirous of ſubjecting Thrace, and of ſecuring the conqueſts he had already made there, he determined to poſſeſs himſelf of Methone, a ſmall city, incapable of ſupporting itſelf by its own ſtrength, but which gave him diſquiet, and obſtructed

obstructed his designs, whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of it, and razed it. He lost one of his eyes before Methone, by a very singular accident. Aster of Amphipolis had offered his services to Philip, telling him that he was so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer, "Well, I will take you into my service, when I make war upon starlings;" which answer stung the archer to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it. After having thrown himself into the city, let fly an arrow, on which was written, "To Philip's right eye." This carried a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for he hit him in the right eye; and Philip sent him back the same arrow, with this inscription: "If Philip takes the city, he will hang up Aster;" and accordingly he was as good as his word. A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye, with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish.

After taking the city, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain more friends by doing them some important service, marched into Thessaly, which had im-

plored

plored his aſſiſtance againſt its tyrants. The liberty of that country ſeemed now ſecure, ſince Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Nevertheleſs, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebe, had murdered him, grown weary of having ſome time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppreſſed the Theſſalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldeſt of the three brothers who ſucceeded Alexander, had ſtrengthened himſelf by the protection of the Phocians. Oenomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at firſt gained a conſiderable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a ſecond time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were purſued to the ſea-ſhore; upwards of ſix thouſand men were killed on the ſpot, among whom was Oenomarchus, whoſe body was hung upon a gallows; and three thouſand, who were taken priſoners, were thrown into the ſea by Philip's order, as ſo many ſacrilegious wretches, the profeſſed enemies of religion.

Philip, after having freed the Theſſalians, reſolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This was his firſt attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a ſhare in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pre-

tence of going over into Phocis, in order to punish the sacrilegious Phocians, he marched towards Thermopylæ, to possess himself of a pass which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica.

An admission of foreigners into Greece, was a measure that was always formidable to those who called themselves Grecians: and the Macedonians, as has already been observed, did not come under that denomination. Ambitious of excelling both in domestic and literary refinement, the Athenians had no desire to see individuals constantly residing among them; and the dissensions and disasters, that had befallen the state, made them very jealous of the approach of embodied strangers. Upon hearing, therefore, of a march which might prove of the utmost consequence, they hastened to Thermopylæ, and possessed themselves of this important pass, which Philip did not care attempting to force. The Athenians were roused from their lethargy of pleasure, to make use of this precaution, by the persuasions of Demosthenes, the celebrated orator, who, from the beginning, saw the ambition of Philip, and the power of which he was possessed to carry him through his designs.

This illustrious orator and statesman, whom we shall hereafter find acting so considerable a part in the

the courſe of this hiſtory, was born in the laſt year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, according to Dionyſius, who, in his epiſtle to Lammacus, hath accurately diſtinguiſhed the different periods of his life, and the times in which his ſeveral orations were delivered. He was the ſon not of a mean and obſcure mechanic, as the Roman ſatyriſt hath repreſented him, but of an eminent Athenian citizen, who raiſed a conſiderable fortune by the manufacture of arms. At the age of ſeven years, he loſt his father; and to add to this misfortune, the guardians to whom he was intruſted, waſted and embezzled a conſiderable part of his inheritance. Thus oppreſſed by fraud, and diſcouraged by a weak and effeminate habit of body, he yet diſcovered an early ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf as a popular ſpeaker. The applauſe beſtowed on a public orator, who had defended his country's right to the city of Oropus, in an elaborate harangue, inflamed his youthful mind with an eager deſire of meriting the like honour. Iſocrates and Iſæus were then the two moſt eminent profeſſors of eloquence at Athens. The ſoft and florid manner of the former, did by no means ſuit the genius of Demoſthenes: Iſæus was more vigorous and energetic, and his ſtyle better ſuited to public buſineſs. To him therefore he applied, and under his direction purſued thoſe ſtudies, which might accompliſh

accomplish him for the character to which he aspired. His first essay was made against his guardian, by whom he had been so injuriously treated: but the goodness of his cause was here of more service than the abilities of the young orator; for his early attempts were unpromising, and soon convinced him of the necessity of a graceful and manly pronunciation. His close and severe application, and the extraordinary diligence with which he laboured to conquer his defects and natural infirmities, are too well known, and have been too frequently the subjects of historians and critics, ancient and modern, to need a minute recital. His character as a statesman will be best collected from the history of his conduct in the present transactions. As an orator, the reader, perhaps, is not to be informed of his qualifications. Indeed, the study of oratory was at that time the readiest, and almost the only means of rising in the state. His first essay at the bar was two years after this incident, when he called his guardians to account for embezzling his patrimony, and recovered some part of it. This encouraged him, some time after, to harangue before the people in their public assembly; but he acquitted himself so ill, that they hissed him: however, he ventured a second time, but with no better success than before, so that he went away ashamed, confounded, and quite in despair.

despair. It was upon this occasion that Satyrus the player accosted him, and in a friendly way encouraged him to proceed. With this view he asked him to repeat to him some verses of Sophocles, or Euripides, which he accordingly did: the other repeated them after him, but with such a different spirit and cadence, as made him sensible that he knew very little of elocution. But by his instructions, and his own perseverance, he at length made himself master of it; and, by the methods before mentioned, corrected the imperfections which were born with him, as well as the ill habits which he had contracted. It is not very clear whether this passage be rightly ascribed to Satyrus, who seems to be confounded with Neoptolemus and Andronicus, who were likewise famous comedians; and Demosthenes is said to have been instructed by all the three.

With these advantages and improvements, he appeared again in public, and succeeded so well, that people flocked from all parts of Greece to hear him. From thence he was looked upon as the standard of true eloquence; insomuch that none of his countrymen have been put in comparison with him; nor even among the Romans, any but Cicero. And though it has been made a question by the antient writers, to which of the two they should give the preference they have not ventured

ventured to decide it, but have contented themſelves with deſcribing their different beauties, and ſhewing that they were both perfect in their kind. His eloquence was grave and auſtere, like his temper; maſculine and ſublime, bold, forcible and impetuous; abounding with metaphors, apoſtrophes and interrogations; which, with his ſolemn way of invoking and appealing to the gods, the planets, the elements, and the manes of thoſe who fell at Salamis and Marathon, had ſuch a wonderful effect upon his hearers, that they thought him inſpired. If he had not ſo much ſoftneſs and inſinuation as is often requiſite in an orator, it was not that he wanted art and delicacy, when the caſe required it: he knew how to ſound the inclinations of the people, and to lead them to the point he aimed at; and ſometimes, [illegible]ming to propoſe that [illegible] was directly contrary. But his chief [illegible]teriſtic was vehemence, both in action and expreſſion; and, indeed, that was the qualification of all others moſt wanted at this time: for the people were grown ſo inſolent and imperious, ſo factious and divided, ſo jealous of the power of the democracy, and withal ſo ſunk into a ſtate of pleaſure and indolence, that no arts of perſuaſion would have been ſo effectual, as that ſpirit and reſolution, that force and energy of Demoſthenes, to humble them, to unite them,

and

and to rouſe them into a ſenſe of their common danger.

But Demoſthenes himſelf could not have made ſuch impreſſions on them, if his talent of ſpeaking had not been ſupported by their opinion of his integrity. It was that which added weight and emphaſis to every thing he ſaid, and animated the whole. It was that which chiefly engaged their attention, and determined their councils; when they were convinced that he ſpoke from his heart, and had no intereſt to manage but that of the community: and this he gave the ſtrongeſt proofs of in his zeal againſt Philip, who ſaid, He was of more weight againſt him than all the fleets and armies of the Athenians; and that he had no enemy but Demo[illegible]henes. He was not wanting in his endeavours to [illegible]t him, as he had done moſt of the leading m[illegible] Greece: bu[illegible] gr[illegible]t orator withſtood all his offers; and, as [illegible]s obſerved, all the gold in Macedon could not bribe him.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.